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CRIME, FEAR OF CRIME, AND THE DETERIORATION OF URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS

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Abstract

The impact of crime and fear of crime on urban deterioration can
only be understood in the context of other aspects of community life. Two
central dimensions of this context are racial stability and property value
appreciation. These two dimensions along with level of crime were treated
as dichotomies, and eight Chicago communities were selected to represent
the resulting eight cells.

A telephone survey of 400 respondents in each of the eight neigh-
borhoods was conducted using random digit dialing techniques. The survey
data were supplemented with data on housing prices, crime rates, and
residential and commercial deterioration.

When neighborhood confidence exists, i.e. when property appreciation is
high, and residents invest in their properties, crime and fear of crime make
little difference in individual orientations. However, when numerous aspects
of neighborhood life are threatened, crime and fear of it take on new signi-
ficance in the minds of relevant actors.

The role of perceived racial instability in this process is clear—
fear of crime predicts behaviors and attitudes which lead to deterioration
among respondents who perceive that their neighborhood is changing. It
has less effect among those who judge their neighborhoods to be stable.

Our findings suggest that visible policing activities to bolster
confidence are important in low crime areas into which minorities are likely
to move. In addition, broad scale programs by community organizations and
visible support by governmental agencies, including the renovation rather
than the neglect or destruction of abandoned buildings and systematic removal
of litter, are also important in the reduction of fear of crime.

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CHAPTER 1

CRIME, FEAR OF CRIME, AND THE DETERIORATION OF URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS

The relationship between crime and neighborhood deterioration is a peculiar one. We know that American cities are, relatively speaking, the loci of serious crime problems. We know as well that within these cities crime is not equally distributed--there are places which are known as high-crime areas and others which are known for being safe.

In addition, most of our cities, particularly those in the north and east, are losing both population and industry, and both the taxpayers and jobs that go with them. The consequence is that cities are in physical decline as well as population decline; and, more to the point, the more deteriorated areas are high-crime areas.

When people visualize the most deteriorated areas of a city, they probably envision roving youth gangs; unemployed people standing on street corners; vacant buildings, some scarred by arson; and uncollected litter blowing in the wind. They are the sorts of areas in which drivers passing through roll up their car windows and lock their doors. Obviously, in these areas, crime does contribute to deterioration quite directly. Windows are broken, buildings are burned, many people are afraid to rent or purchase housing.

For people observing such a situation, the relationship between crime and deterioration is obvious. Nonetheless, three important points have to be made. The first is the old one from statistical textbooks that correlation is not causation. The presence of deterioration and crime together does not mean that one caused the other. Nor does it mean that causal relations can only go one way. Deterioration could just as well cause crime or create the conditions which allow it to flourish. Arson by property owners is one dramatic example.

Second, neighborhoods, and in fact cities, have deteriorated without the presence of particularly high rates of crime. Some of the old mill towns in New England are striking examples of this process. The mills, the major employers of the area, moved away for reasons quite unrelated to crime. Without the jobs they provided, the residents of these small cities did not have the money to maintain their houses or to shop in the commercial areas. Without income, these areas could not be maintained. The absence of employment opportunities meant that there were no newcomers who wanted to purchase their houses, thereby keeping up the housing prices. Supply exceeded demand, and the final result was deterioration. Similarly, the classical theorists of urban society explained that urban areas had natural lifetimes, and that in the normal course of events, some would decline.

Finally, there are neighborhoods, as we shall see, with dramatically high crime rates that are not deteriorating. In fact, they are doing just the opposite. Their properties are improving, the quality of maintenance is being upgraded, and judging by the levels of property appreciation, many people want to live there--that is, demand exceeds supply.

The apparently obvious relationship between crime and deterioration is thus not so obvious at all. That there is some sort of connection, one would be foolish to deny. But the connection is more complex and subtle than it appears at first blush.

City Growth and Neighborhood Deterioration

To understand how and why neighborhoods change and the role of crime in that process, one must begin with the classic theories of how cities change. One of the great insights of the early Chicago sociologists

was the fact that areas within cities are bound together in webs of interdependency and that because parts are organically related to the whole, changes in some patterns send ripples throughout the entire system.

Our underlying model of urban social change derives from the classic theories of Burgess as refined by large numbers of later theorists. Although the Burgess model is in many respects too simple, it provides us with a point of entry to consider the ways in which neighborhoods and their patterns of development are shaped by almost natural processes.

Let us begin with Burgess's famous concentric zone model (Burgess, 1925). Although as a model it appears to be static, this is only an artifact of its snapshot-like quality--the arresting of an ongoing social process at some instant in time. In fact, the model is one concerned with change, particularly that associated with growth.

At the heart of the city is the Central Business District. It is the hub of urban commercial life---the location of retail stores, of restaurants, of offices, of wholesale business. It is the place where most of the urban population is employed. Because it is the place where business would most like to locate, it is also the location of the most valuable land. Only highly-profitable businesses or very rich people can afford to locate there, because each parcel must produce profits sufficient to pay the high prices generated by demand.

Beyond the central business district is the area of manufacturing. Manufacturing, again, is an intensive use of land, providing a good use of expensive property. Beyond it is an interstitial area called the Zone of Transition, an area of less than optimal land use. Formerly residential, it has become the area of poor rooming houses, cheap taverns, prostitution and other shady and seedy activities often associated with

the dark side of city life. The word transition, in this context, takes
on multiple meanings. It is the transitional location from the business
area to the residential. It is in transition itself from being resi-
dential to industrial land use. Lastly, the residents are often transi-
tional--the downwardly mobile bums who inhabit the areas and the upwardly
mobile new immigrants who often gain their first foothold in the cheap
rooming houses located there.

The next circles outward are residential, the poor living closer
to the center and the rich further out. Underlying this part of the
model is the assumption that people want to live as far from the central
business district as is feasible; they prefer to be far from the noise
and smell of manufacture, and the crowds and congestion generated by
commercial activity. The rich desire space. The paradox is that they
end up living on large quantities of relatively inexpensive land while
the poor live on small quantities of expensive land.

We have said that the rich live as far out as is feasible.
Feasibility, in this instance, means some combination of cost and time.
One reason then for the tree-ring-like growth of the city is that the
waves of people moving further from the center must await transportation
innovations which enable them to arrive downtown at roughly the same
time and cost as from their previous location. Horsecars, trains, trolleys,
and finally the automobile and attendant highway construction all con-
tribute to this process.

Although Burgess provides us with a picture of stable concentric
rings at any one point in time, the composition of the rings keeps changing
as the residents move outward from the center and the central area grows
in size. The picture then is not just a model of cities, but rather

a model of the growth and change of cities. The rich move further and
further from the center of the city; they are followed by the poor,
who take their spacious homes and apartments and break them into smaller
units. The poor in turn are pursued by the zone of transition which
itself is being pushed outward by commercial and industrial growth.

The discerning observer of this picture can ascertain several
corollary assumptions. The first is that cities would continue to grow
as they had during the preceding century. The second is that much of
this growth would result from the influx of poor immigrants who would
fill the housing left behind by those moving up and out. The third is
that transportation systems would continue to function as spokes to a
hub, carrying the population to and from the central business district.

For the period under consideration, these were valid assumptions.
Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth and well into the twentieth
century, cities did grow as new poor migrants arrived. They included
southern and eastern Europeans from across the sea in the earlier period
and blacks moving up from the South in the later period. With fixed
rail transportation, many cities grew outward along side the railroad
tracks, the sections in between the railroad lines remaining relatively
undeveloped. As we shall see, however, subsequent developments necessi-
tated modification of some of these assumptions.

There is some ambiguity in much of earlier literature about the
extent to which urban residents are drawn to the residential areas at
the fringe and the extent to which they are chased. Integral to much
of the earlier theory are the concepts, drawn from biology, of invasion
and succession. In this model a new type of inhabitant or land-use
pattern, one which is uncongenial to existing users, invades an area.

The invaders create conditions which make it easier for subsequent invaders to follow, while the original users of the land begin to move away.

The idea of invasion and succession has been used most frequently to describe racial change in urban neighborhoods (Duncan and Duncan, 1957; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965). Black inhabitants first arrive near the border of a white neighborhood and then move into the area. In social class terms, they are often like the residents who already live there. The original residents may at first try to make it difficult for the invaders, but ultimately they begin to leave, making way for new black residents. Eventually, the black residents will have succeeded to the area.

There are, however, other possible patterns of invasion. Industrial uses may be the initial invaders. The first ones are fairly benign, creating little noise, dirt, or congestion. However, as residents move away, other industrial uses follow which are more obtrusive, ultimately driving away the rest of the inhabitants. Gentrification, the movement of middle-class people into a working-class neighborhood, can also follow this pattern (Clay, 1979). The invaders are now called "pioneers." Hardy types who have renovation skills and not enough money to buy into more expensive neighborhoods are the first to arrive. They discover hitherto unsuspected charms in the local housing and begin to fix it up. After a certain number of these have arrived, the area becomes more attractive to the less adventurous types who have more money but less courage. They raise the price of land, driving up rents and taxes, and, consequently, driving out the poorer inhabitants. This last example is not one that the original developers of the model had in mind, but the process is nevertheless consistent with the theory.

As we shall see subsequently, succession and crime, particularly fear of crime and some of its corollaries, often travel together. They

represent one way in which crime and fear of crime contribute to deterioration.

The concentric zone theory has been analyzed, dissected, criticized, refuted, and discussed extensively in the sixty-year period since it was propounded. Some of the criticism involves the notion that the theory itself is too simple. Other criticisms have suggested that although Burgess may have been accurately describing Chicago, the theory is not very general; it didn't happen that way in Boston or Philadelphia (Firey, 1952). Still others, and we among them, believe that the theories do not leave scope for human initiative in altering such patterns.

Nonetheless, there is a core set of ideas in the theory that appears to apply broadly (Hawley, 1981). The areas around central business districts do, in fact, become twilight zones with second class uses and deteriorated houses. Although some rich people stay in the heart of the city, the wealthy do tend to move away from the city's center. Old neighborhoods deteriorate and become less desirable, and most neighborhoods have a kind of life cycle. Finally, transportation patterns have shaped cities' growth. When we come to focus on the neighborhoods we have chosen to study, we will see examples of these processes at work.

Two variants on the theme should be briefly mentioned. The first variant, the sectoral theory (Hoyt, 1937; Berry and Kasarda, 1977) suggests that instead of uses always changing as one moves out from the center of the city, sometimes the same use pattern persists. For example, high income housing may expand along a relatively narrow strip moving northward. Certain kinds of light industrial uses may expand along another narrow strip moving westward, and so forth.

The second variant suggests that city development may include the growth of other centers or nodes (Harris and Ullman, 1945). For example, in Chicago's early industrial growth, the Calumet Harbor area, about ten miles south of the central business district, became the center of the steel industry and other industries which required close contact with the steel mills. Around these nodes, patterns might develop in a similar fashion, with the poorest housing closest to the mills and the more expensive housing further away. Figure 1.1 presents the models of city structure derived from the three theories.

As pointed out above, the early theories of city growth were devised during the period of fixed rail transportation, when the areas between railroad lines were relatively undeveloped. The arrival of the automobile changed all that, and its mass use undermined one of the assumptions of the theory. Those spaces could be filled, and people were able to move yet further away. Both commercial and industrial activity followed as well. Cheap land made possible not only the suburban tracts, but also shopping centers with the vast parking areas cars require. Inexpensive property also made possible industrial and wholesale production and handling, processes that benefited from operations located on a single story spread over a wide area.

Poly-centrality then became possible in truly dramatic forms, and because of this, the central business district no longer had reason to grow. At the same time, in-migration to the central cities also lessened. Restrictions had been set for migrants from abroad, and the black migration from the South slowed to a trickle. Thus, there was no population available to fill in the lowest levels of housing stock left behind by those people moving up and outward. Consequently, the central areas
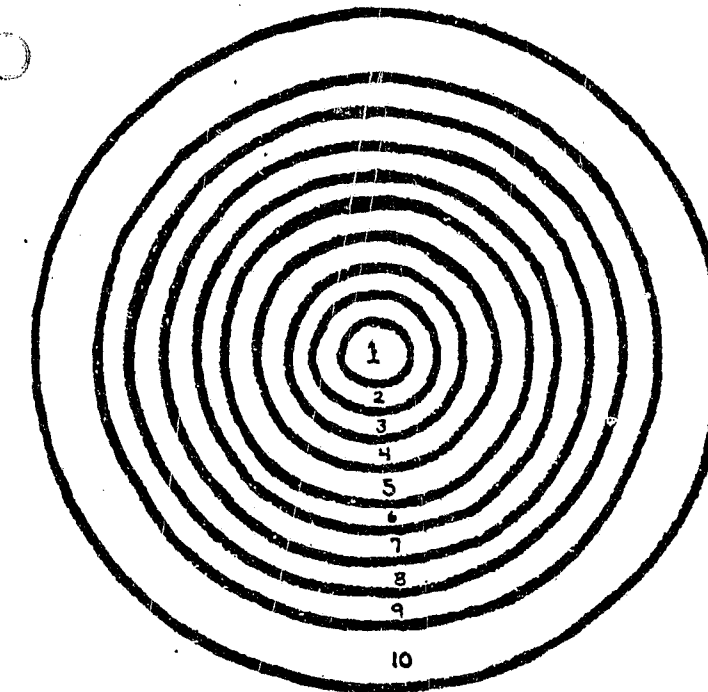
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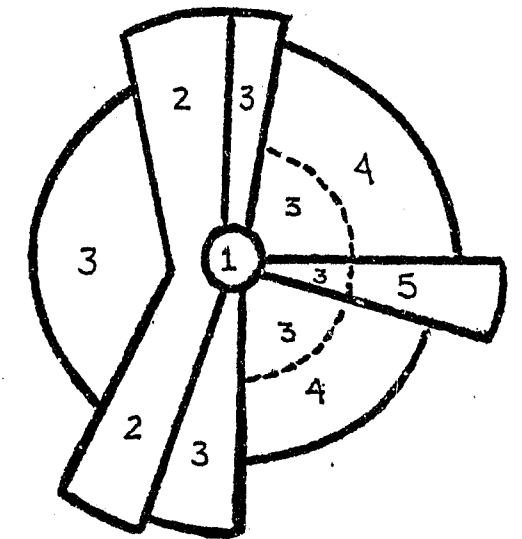
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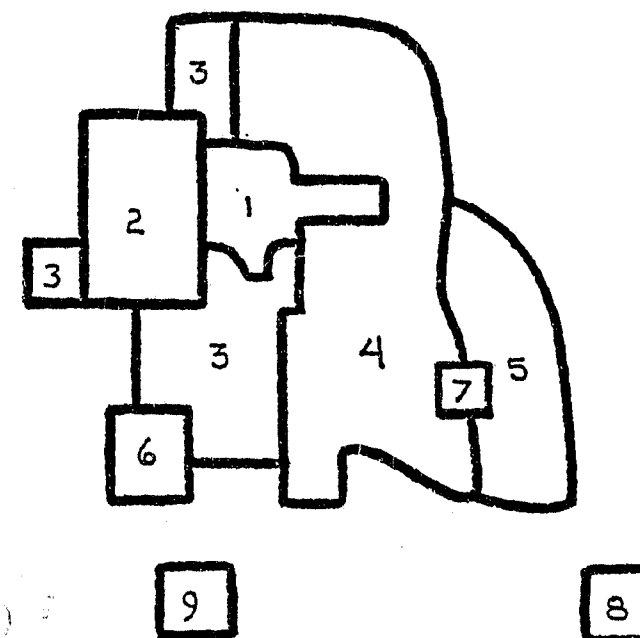
MULTIPLE NUCLEI

THREE GENERALIZATIONS OF THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF CITIES

District

1. Central Business District
2. Wholesale Light Manufacturing
3. Low-Class Residential
4. Medium-Class Residential
5. High-Class Residential
6. Heavy Manufacturing
7. Outlying Business District
8. Residential Suburb
9. Industrial Suburb
10. Commuters' Zone

of the city, particularly those ringing the central business district, became increasingly empty. The city began to develop a hollow core.

The process of racial change and the changes in housing demand during this period are not adequately understood. Directly following World War II, there had been an acute housing shortage for everyone. New household formation had greatly exceeded housing starts during the war, and many urban residents were living in tightly cramped quarters, in many instances sharing space with other relatives. The difficulty of the situation was amplifed for blacks. Confined to small sections of the city, the northern urban black communities had grown massively during the war because many blacks had moved up from the South to get war-time industrial jobs.

Subsequently, as the suburban housing boom got underway and white families began to move to the suburbs, the ghetto was allowed to expand on a block-by-block basis, as space-hungry blacks were willing to pay almost anything in order to improve their residential position. This often meant that they moved into formerly spacious apartments which were broken up by landlords who saw that, if they were to make profits from relatively low-income blacks, they had to create additional units in the same amount of space. Whites were often willing to sell their houses and other buildings for low prices because they feared the neighborhood was changing, and, in the classic mode of self-fulfilling prophecy, property values went down. As a result, much money was to be made by buying houses at low prices from whites and selling them for high prices to blacks. Some real estate companies were willing to pay good prices for multiple-family dwellings as well because they saw the opportunity for a good return on investments by subdividing and undermaintaining.

Subsequently, subsidized low-downpayment FHA mortgages made it possible for fleeing whites to leave single-family home areas easily, often selling their houses to low-income blacks who could not afford them. Because the mortgages were FHA-guaranteed, banks and mortgage companies had little incentive to screen mortgage applicants.

The entire process could be understood by the classic theories of urban change, although the process took place in a somewhat heated-up form. Whites were moving out to the periphery of the city, although this now meant the suburbs, and their houses were "filtering down" to lower income groups, many of whom made more intensive use of the property.

This process of succession was so dramatic and visible that it became the way people understood change in the city--blacks hungry for space spreading out, and unscrupulous real estate interests exploiting both them and the whites who moved away.

However, there has been a second stage in that process which is less well understood, a stage which has contributed to the hollowing out of the center of the city as we discussed briefly earlier. What happened was that suburban construction was so successful, and there were relatively speaking so few new immigrants to the city, that northern and eastern cities began to lose population (Downs, 1979). This occurred so much that the housing market moved from being a tight one in which housing was in terribly short supply to a soft one in which, if the supply of housing did not exceed demand; it came closely enough into line that blacks had a much wider range of housing available to them and thus no longer had to settle for congested, undermaintained housing. Landlords could no longer make money by crowding blacks into undermaintained buildings, and many of

the buildings were too deteriorated for renovation to pay an acceptable rate of return at the rents poorer blacks could afford. Under these circumstances, building abandonment became an important factor in the urban housing mix. The poorest blacks lived in public housing which had also become an important component of the housing market in the 1950s, and others could choose among the growing range of housing white residents left behind.

Consequently, not only did the central business district begin to shrink as it lost out to suburban shopping centers, not only did industrial areas lose out to the suburbs as well, but, increasingly, older housing stock close to the center began to vanish. The result is that many cities are characterized by a hollowing core which moves outward as its former residents move further out seeking the housing left behind by whites who have moved to the suburbs.

Another important broad demographic change has begun to play a role in the shaping of the modern city. This trend includes the coming of age of the baby boom children of the 1940s and early 1950s, and the growing equality between the sexes which has led to the postponement of marriage, higher rates of divorce, more two-earner households, and a declining number of children.

Alonso (1980) summarizes these trends. Historically, the middle-class people who chose to live in the central city were single people and childless couples. The single people were mainly young people starting out, and the childless couples were often "empty nesters" whose children had grown and left home. The young people would marry, and often remain in the city until their first child was approaching and then move further out.

The baby boom provided a massive new cohort of such young people and, hence, necessitated the construction of new households. But in this case, the need was augmented by the fact that the postponement of marriage required even more independent dwelling unit construction. This group, then, put tremendous pressure on the urban housing market. Since a large proportion of them were and are young professionals, they have unusually large amounts of disposable income. Consequently, where they decide to live becomes an area of high demand, and they are able to bid up housing prices. Many of the areas in which they have decided to live are near the city's core in areas which had begun to deteriorate. Their demand for housing there has led to renovation and high-priced new construction and, in some instances, to the displacement of the poor.

That pattern is further magnified by the predisposition of this population to postpone childbearing and to have very small families. The need to move to the suburbs to take advantage of suburban school systems (and perhaps to avoid problems of crime that their offspring might face) is reduced because the affluent, two-earner family is able to pay for private or parochial school for only one or two children. Single-parent-headed-households and two-earner families also have one thing in common—time is at a premium. This is especially true for the mother, who still in these liberated times has disproportionate responsibility for child care. Although many jobs have moved to the suburbs, the clerical and white-collar jobs which women are more likely to hold have migrated more slowly. Therefore, locational choice which emphasizes the closeness to work for women may also lead to an urban choice.

All of these factors, according to Alonso, serve to accelerate housing demand for a middle-class group in the central city in a way which is historically novel. Although it is still too soon to tell how

lasting or how extensive these trends are, their presence is being felt
in some city neighborhoods.

All of these developments are still consonant with the most general
formulations of Burgess's theories. The difference is that changing
transportation patterns, reduced rates of rural-urban migration, federally-
fueled suburban housing growth, and broad-scale demographic shifts have
all contributed to changing the final outcome as described by the classical
theorists.

It should come as no surprise that Chicago illustrates many of
these patterns, for most of the theories of city development grew out
of research done there. Consistent with concentric zone theory, Chicago
did grow along its rail and streetcar lines, the more desirable neighbor-
hoods generally being those furthest from the central business district.
It experienced dramatic post World War II suburban growth and the spread
of its black population out from near the center. And it has displayed
an increasingly hollow core, particularly toward the south and west.

Chicago has also illustrated some aspects of the sectoral develop-
ment pattern. The central business district has begun to move in a
northward direction. Similarly, expensive housing has expanded northward
from the Gold Coast area near the central business district. Deterioration
has moved southward and westward. Both wholesaling and light manufac-
turing have moved from the near south and west sides, and housing abandon-
ment has followed the black population southward and westward, and, to
some extent, the Hispanic population in a northwesterly direction.

As suggested by the poly-centric theory, there are nodes of
business activity which have, with the aid of urban renewal legislation,
provided counterforces to these patterns. On the south side, the area

around a group of hospitals and the Illinois Institute of Technology,
and the neighborhood of the University of Chicago are two such locations.

In short, American cities in general have followed predictable
patterns of change over the last fifty years, patterns which could be
anticipated by theories about how cities are supposed to grow and to
decline. But to observe these regularities is not enough--they are not
regularities decreed by nature, nor are they unchangeable by human inter-
vention. It is one aspect of that intervention which particularly in-
terests us. We want to know what role crime has played in the flight
of people from the center of the city; what role it plays in efforts
to reverse processes of deterioration; and what can be done to minimize
that role.

Crime and Neighborhood Change

Crime does not play an important role in the classical theories
of succession. Where different ethnic groups or races are involved,
the theorists suggest something inevitable about the process and, perhaps,
something undesirable about the customs and habits of the invading groups.
People move because they want to get away from the noisy social patterns
of the invaders, and because they see the invaders as "undesirables."
Crime does happen, but often seems to be internal to the new ethnic
community rather than a threat to the older groups. Zorbaugh's (1929)
discussion of the Sicilians, for example, emphasizes that they are a
danger to each other, but that outsiders are largely irrelevant. Yet,
in the relatively more contemporary context, it makes sense intuitively
that crime plays an important role in neighborhood deterioration. In
those areas with the highest levels of deterioration such an assertion
is almost self-evident.

Implicit in our theoretical orientation is the role of market behavior and market decisions. Investment and disinvestment, and the decision to move or not to move, are market decisions based on complex stimuli of which crime and fear of crime are but two (See Goodman, 1979). Inadequate demand in a rental market leads to lack of maintenance and related deterioration when landlords perceive the future of the neighborhood to be degeneration. This perception feeds upon itself. Conversely, if landlords perceive that their neighborhood has a future, they respond with reinvestment to improve their properties and make them more attractive, and with other aggressive market behaviors to attract new tenants. Single-family housing markets with inadequate demand lead to renting rather than selling, the breakup of houses into rooming houses, purchases on contract, and the growth of FHA-financing.

In both of these instances, crime may be one of the forces leading to inadequate demand. It should be added, however, that demand is not always determined by individual actors in a particular setting. There are others such as mortgage lenders who may be able to control the flow of capital to a community. The reduction in that flow has the effect of reducing demand.

Commercial strips within neighborhoods also have a role to play. Shopkeepers, fearful of crime, may begin to keep shorter hours, install increasingly complex paraphernalia of protection, and even lock the front door to restrict access. Businessmen who experience crime may flee the neighborhood, and customers who fear crime on their shopping streets may decide to go elsewhere to shop, or limit their shopping activities to a few hours at mid-day when they perceive the streets' to be safest. (In Chicago, one of the city's largest department store chains makes its deliveries to the ghetto in the morning for that very reason.)

Yet, despite all this, crime per se does not seem to have the deleterious effects on neighborhoods one would expect it to. There are neighborhoods in Chicago which have fairly high crime rates in which massive renovation is taking place accompanied by the process of gentrification. Similarly, there are neighborhoods with relatively low crime rates in which deterioration is evident, and where property values are not keeping up with inflation because demand seems to be relatively low.

The issue of neighborhood attractiveness and its relationship to crime and fear of crime is complicated by the presence and residential expansion of large minority populations in many major cities. What is clear is that the arrival of blacks in a neighborhood is associated with processes which often lead to deterioration. White flight leads to an oversupply of housing and to property depreciation. It also often leads to undermaintenance and subdivision by landlords, redlining, and the reduction of city services.

An important question, then, is what is the impact of the arrival of blacks on both perceptions and fear of crime and on investment activity. We will show that the impact is measurable. For now, let us report that among all our respondents, half believe that "When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, property values are sure to go down." About one third agree with the statement "When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, crime rates usually go up." The correlation (gamma) between these two items is an astonishing .73. Thus, black arrival, property value depreciation, and high crime rates are tightly related in the minds of a substantial segment of our sample.

We have already discussed the process of succession. Our question is to what extent does succession exacerbate fear of crime independently

of the crime rate itself, consequently reducing neighborhood attractiveness. It is not easy, on the basis of available data or individual statements, to judge whether crime actually constitutes the impetus to deterioration or whether the true impetus lies in _fear_ of crime. Fear of crime imposes a number of distressing costs in psychological pain and lost opportunities on its victims. Among them is the fact that many people lock themselves in their homes at night--a form of self-imposed imprisonment. Other people turn down employment opportunities in "unsafe" areas; refrain from attending various neighborhood, school, and church functions; and carry guns and other weapons that are often more hazardous to themselves than to potential criminals. It is not hard to understand, given this list of costs, how fear of crime might drive people from the city if they believe they will be safer elsewhere.

Fear of crime is not necessarily a direct function of the amount of crime people face. It is true, for instance, that blacks and the poor are more often victims of violent crimes than are whites and the affluent, and they are also more afraid. But women and old people are highly afraid, even though they are far less often victims of crimes than are men and the young. (This may, of course, result from their taking better safety precautions because of their fear. See Balkin, 1979.) Although some studies (Furstenberg, 1971; Stinchcombe, et al., 1977) have found a correlation between violent crime and fear of crime in urban neighborhoods, other studies (McIntyre, 1967; Scheppele, 1975) have not. Fear of crime may therefore exert an effect on moving and on neighborhood deterioration that is substantially independent of the actual amount of crime. It becomes important to distinguish which, if either, of these crime-related factors-- crime rates and fear of crime--is the major factor in people's decisions to leave the city, to let their properties become unsightly, and to refrain

from buying a prospective home because of its location.

It may also be that the relative effect of each crime factor varies, depending on the stage of succession and on the neighborhood context. Fear of crime may promote moving behavior _in some contexts_ but not in others. For example, there may be compelling reasons why the effects of fear of crime will be suppressed in neighborhoods where property values are appreciating for other reasons.

Research which focuses on the role of demand in the maintenance of property values and in the maintenance of property itself must inevitably look to the white population. At the macro level, it is the fact of white flight that has softened urban housing markets, reducing supply and, almost by definition, the pressure of demand. We assume that market demand requires that there be enough people with enough money who want to live in a place to keep the price of property up; and that where property prices cannot be maintained, lack of maintenance, for reasons we will discuss below, will follow. The long history of discrimination against blacks means that, in most cities, there are not enough of them with enough resources to keep prices up. This is augmented by the fact that some blacks with money will follow middle-class whites to the suburbs, taking themselves out of the urban market.

In addition, there is some evidence that blacks who do purchase houses pay a smaller proportion of their income for those houses than do whites (see Berry, 1976). This assertion, we realize, flies in the face of widely-held beliefs that blacks pay both absolutely higher prices and a higher proportion of their income for their housing. Although this may be true for blacks in the low income category, it is not true for those in the middle income category who are in the urban housing market. Why this is so is the subject for another report. It may have to do with the long history

of discrimination in housing and the fact that blacks historically have not been able to count on appreciation or even the maintenance of equity in their housing. Nonetheless, if market demand is to be at high levels, and we exclude a few narrow and specialized sectors, blacks and whites must both be in the market.

The Chicago Neighborhoods

The previous discussion suggests the need to select for study communities that vary on three crucial dimensions: First, whether crime rates are high or low; second, whether they are racially stable or changing; and third, whether real estate values are appreciating rapidly or slowly. Since crime is of central importance in this study, we must study neighborhoods with varying crime rates. We cannot make inferences about the effects of crime on deterioration by focusing only on neighborhoods in which the process has proceeded quite far and accompanying crime rates are extremely high. The existence of racial change may alter the process of neighborhood deterioration, as outlined above. Thus, to understand how crime and fear of crime affect neighborhood decay, we must control for this variable. Finally, crime rates affect residents differentially, depending on their perceptions of what they have to gain or lose by moving from or staying in the neighborhood. Thus, we must select some neighborhoods in which housing values are appreciating rapidly and some in which they are appreciating slowly or not at all.

The combination of all three sets of variables required us to locate a minimum of eight neighborhoods. Table 1.1 illustrates the way the variables are combined and the Chicago neighborhoods we located in each category.

TABLE 1.1

EIGHT COMMUNITIES SELECTED FOR STUDY IN CHICAGO ON THE BASIS OF CRIME RATES, CHANGE IN PROPERTY VALUES, AND RACIAL STABILITY

| | RACIAL STABILITY | | | |
| | STABLE CRIME RATES | | NEW BLACK RESIDENTS CRIME RATES | |
PROPERTY VALUES	High	Low	High	Low
Rapidly Appreciating	Hyde Park/Kenwood	Portage Park	Lincoln Park	Beverly
Slowly Appreciating	South Shore	East Side	Austin	Back of the Yards

Although we shall discuss these communities in more detail later, let us first locate them within the overall framework we have constructed (see Figure 1.2).

Furthest from the center in (arbitrarily constructed) ring number nine is Beverly (Hills). As the theory would suggest, Beverly is the highest status of our communities. Large houses on tree-lined streets and some of the few hills located within the city limits give it a comfortable suburban character.

East Side, a neighborhood clustered next to the steel mills in the southeastern Calumet region, is also in that ring. However, East Side falls within the orbit of a mini-center or node, defined by the location of the major steel mills. East Side's oldest and most deteriorated housing is in the old mill region in the northern section of the community. With its own set of mini-rings, its housing gets newer and nicer as one moves further south. The east-west boundary streets, defined by different periods of construction, also represent different levels of status.

In ring number seven is Portage Park. Like Beverly, it is an area of predominantly single family houses in good physical condition, although its houses are smaller and located on smaller lots. Houses were constructed in the 1920s and 30s, and for the section furthest from the center of the city, in the late 1940s and early 1950s. It is also a family-oriented neighborhood, but clearly less middle-class and less professional than Beverly.

Beverly and Portage Park, as neighborhoods in the city's outer rings, help to illustrate one form of the Burgess concentric zone theory, the fact that the more prosperous often move out of the central city.

COMMUNITY AREAS
CITY OF CHICAGO
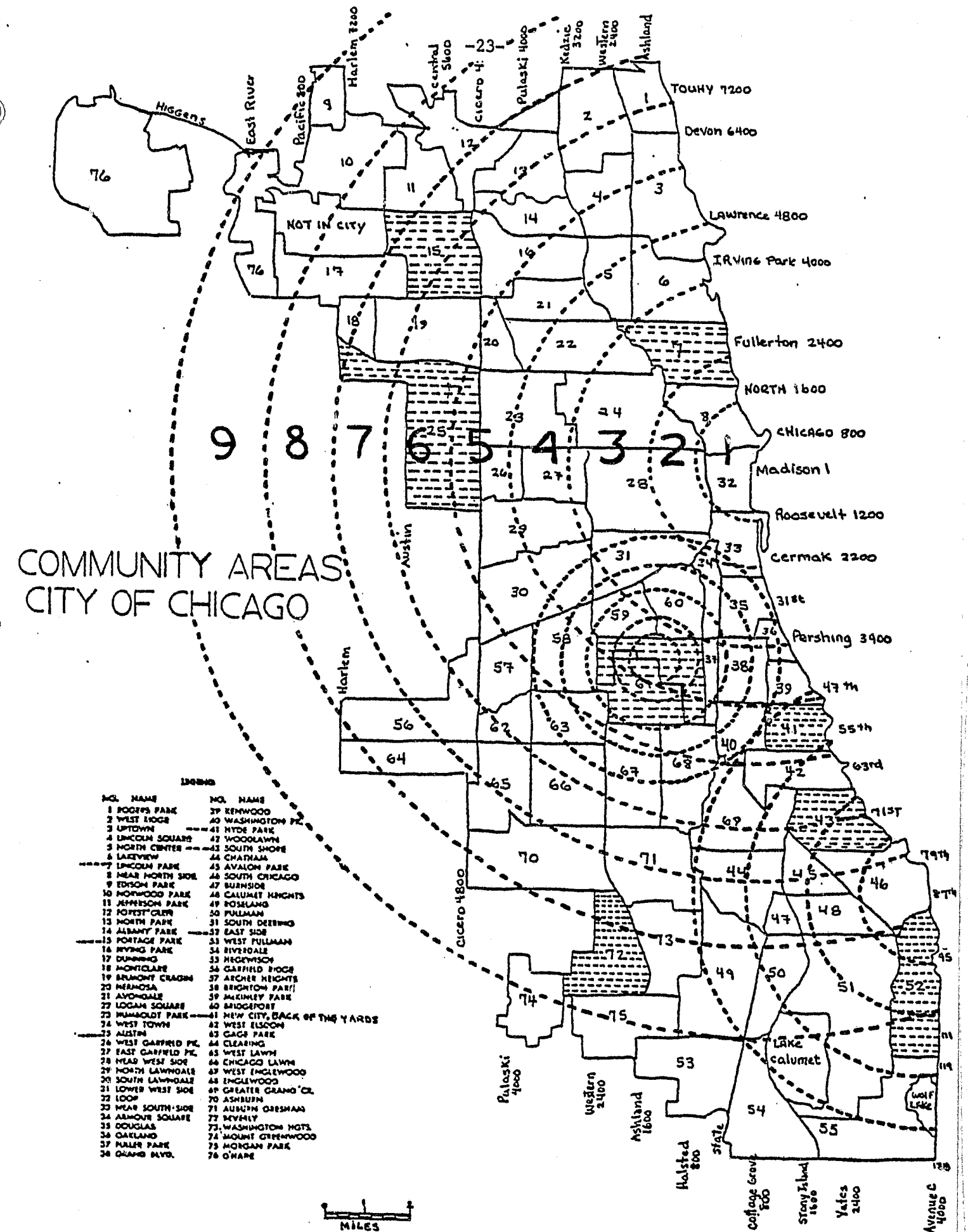
East Side represents a special sub-case of that theory, the poly-centric theory, with the steel mill area as an important sub-center with its own dynamic which makes it somewhat independent of the central business district.

Austin, located due west of the Loop in ring number six, fits more clearly the sectoral version of the model as described by Hoyt. In earlier years, the region to the west of the Loop had conformed to the concentric zone pattern, with the upper middle-class at one point residing just west of the Loop. This class began to move north and east, however, and the middle-class began to move further west as transportation permitted. Subsequently, blight began to move outward from the Loop to the west until in the early 1970s it overtook Austin. Although not all of Austin is deteriorated as of this writing, and some areas are distinctly trying to make a comeback or resist further encroachment of blight, most observers would consider Austin part of the thoroughly decayed west side sector, much of which has developed the hollow core characteristic of modern city growth. Austin is also in one of the paths of black expansion.

Although it lies south and east of the central business district, South Shore is located in the same ring as Austin. It too is located in a path of black expansion--this one to the south instead of to the west--and by the mid-1960s had begun to show signs of deterioration characteristic of much of the south side of the city and similar to that of Austin. However, its rate of deterioration has been slowed and may even have been reversed. This is in part the result of the intense activities of some of its citizens and institutions which shall be discussed below. However, South Shore has other locational aspects which have

worked to its advantage. First, it lies at the intersection of the rings of two mini-centers--the steel mills to the south and Hyde Park and the University of Chicago to the north. Each of these has provided strong local economic bases for the community.

To explain South Shore's position further, we must introduce another concept which, although not directly incorporated into the original theories of the city, was implicitly in much of this work, the notion of "external amenity". Students of cities have often observed that there are some locations in cities which, because of their natural attributes, are considered more desirable than others. For example, wealthier people have often located their houses on hills. In other instances, they have chosen large parks or other locales with distinctive views. External amenities, then, are attributes external to the community itself which make the land more attractive and, consequently, more valuable.

In Chicago, as names such as the Gold Coast imply, the lake has functioned as a powerful attraction. And South Shore, as its name implies, is located along the lake. This is not to suggest that the lakefront or any other external amenity can alone override other social forces. Other lakefront areas both to the north and south of South Shore are or have been severely blighted, and some of the deteriorated areas to the west of the city are located around the edges of exquisite parks such as Garfield Park. Nonetheless, external amenities coupled with economically-viable nodal activity do contribute to the support of land values and, hence, to the arresting of deterioration.

In ring number five are two dramatically different areas--Back of the Yards and Hyde Park/Kenwood. That they are located in the same ring illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of the general theory we are laying out, and why such a theory must inevitably be complex.

Back of the Yards is located behind the famous stockyards. As an area relatively near the center of the city, one would expect it to be undergoing deterioration as its more affluent residents move away. Back of the Yards is also, however, located at what was once a mini-center or node. The stockyards were a source of employment, and the houses immediately around it were inhabited by its poor, immigrant employees. Because they were poor, they were forced to live close to work. Despite the powerful disamenity of stockyard smells and the congestion of trucks and trains, they clustered around the yards, much as other immigrant groups clustered around the steel mills. As one moves further from the stockyards, particularly east and west, the quality of the original housing stock goes up. In some sense, one can even make the case that Hyde Park/Kenwood at one time represented the outer ring of the stockyard node, for in the heyday of the stockyards, the Kenwood section of Hyde Park/Kenwood was the home of many of the meat packing barons. The meat packers moved away from the stockyards in the 1950s, destroying the area as a node. Back of the Yards, despite a devoted band of ethnics who still live at its core, has been following the path of deterioration which the general theory would predict. Minorities are moving in from the north, south and east and, under the impetus of declining property values, deterioration and blight are well underway.

Hyde Park/Kenwood is located at another node which is dominated by the University of Chicago. As deterioration advanced southward during the 1950s, University officials considered relocating. Instead, however, vigorous economic activity coupled with other interventions to be discussed later and the external amenity of the lakefront led to community rejuvenation. Growth and development, however, have not followed the concentric

patterns around the University as they have around the central business district, the steel mills and the stockyards. There are two reasons for this development. The first is that, unlike the nodes formed by the steel mills or the stockyards, the physical structure of the University is not a disamenity. In fact, the opposite is more nearly true. Its park-like atmosphere and the large houses which cluster around it make it a desirable residential location for many.

Furthermore, economic strength has flowed northward and eastward, cutting a quarter-shaped wedge out of what might have been a circular pie. The University is backed up against strong boundaries to the south and west. The southern boundary is six lanes of road with a large central mall called the Midway Plaisance. To the west lies Washington Park. Consequently, it was somewhat logical that planners concerned with community development would look east and north.

Lincoln Park, the community to be found in rings two and three, is another notable illustration of Hoyt's sector theory. For while there is great deterioration to the south, west, and northwest of the central business district in those rings (the southeastern direction is somewhat more complicated), Lincoln Park currently stands as a community of dramatically appreciating property values, an illustration of reverse succession or gentrification. The presence of the lakefront and Lincoln Park itself are powerful inducements to development. But it is also true that in the late 1940s, Lincoln Park was behaving more like the other areas in rings two and three and appeared on the road to deterioration. However, residential economic development was moving northward along the lake from the Gold Coast and, as developers have reported, Lincoln Park was the "natural" next for investment. The arrival of both large-scale developers and young professional urban "pioneers" has resulted in a growing northern sector

of high income housing.

We have now located each of our eight communities in an overall pattern of urban growth and change. Having done so, however, is not to discuss the processes internal to these communities which helped to shape them. In addition, such a discussion understates the role of human volition and the impact of planning and intervention on the shape the communities might take. The original theorists were enamored of models of biological change which were "natural". Some of them called their approach "ecological", following in the footsteps of naturalists. The ideas of invasion and succession, similarly, come from the work of naturalists who used them to describe the change in "nature" from prairie to forest or from bog to prairie. Even the concentric rings and the label "zones" come from the naturalists who were recording these processes and identifying the differential distributions of species.

Unfortunately, such borrowing led to reification--the confusion of metaphor with actual processes--and this led many to decry human intervention as a means of altering these so-called natural processes. Yet consciousness, will, and intervention all play a part in how these processes take shape in the city. Hyde Park/Kenwood may be a "node" of prosperity, but it was the University of Chicago's decision to heavily police the area with its private security force; to provide legal assistance to victims of crime, rewards for the apprehension of criminals, and buses to keep its people off the streets at night; and to make massive use of urban renewal funds which made it possible for deterioration to "skip over" the community. South Shore may have external amenities, but it is the heroic actions of individuals who, deciding that contrary to the views of some of the ecologists, its deterioration is not inevitable, have made the decline of its decay possible. Beverly has required the active intervention of its

residents as well as support from city government to maintain itself as a middle class suburb-like community. And Lincoln Park required the strategic use of urban renewal funds and condemnation of deteriorated property to succeed. We shall discuss the history of each community below. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize here that when we talk about the natural processes of city growth, we are discussing the cumulative decisions of individuals and their efforts or lack thereof to fight what appear to be inevitable changes.

One of the most depressing uses of these ecological theories by city agencies, realtors, and consumers in the past was sanctification of non-intervention in the face of city decay. By withdrawing investment and city services, they fueled a gigantic self-fulfilling prophecy that made inevitable what they believed was inevitable and hastened the deterioration they deplored.

CHAPTER 2

ABOUT THE STUDY

Let us turn now to a discussion of our research methods. We have compiled a rather unusual data set, and many considerations went into its construction. Among the issues we address in this chapter are the selection of our neighborhoods, both from the perspective of our underlying dimensions and from our desire to be certain that we had socially-meaningful units; the conduct of our survey; and the development and fielding of instruments to measure the appearance of deterioration and the condition of shopping strips.

Selection of Communities

The task of locating communities to fit into each of the eight cells (see Table 1.1) included two separate sets of problems. The first was to find adequate data sources to determine relevant rates for Chicago's communities. The second was to find the communities with the relevant rates.

Someday perhaps all pertinent data for big cities will be included on a single data tape. Until that time, the search for suitable data will remain a challenge. Data are one of a series of resources available to agencies, and agencies sometimes seem reluctant to part with them. For this study, some data were easy to get in a usable form, and others were not.

Crime Rates. We had little difficulty gaining access to crime data. The Chicago Department of Police cooperated with us fully. The department maintains a record of verified crimes which it uses for, among other things, allocating manpower. The crimes are located by

axial coordinates rather than by address, making it impossible to determine on which side of the street a crime took place. Since streets form the boundaries of many of our communities, we had to allocate the crime statistics for these border areas proportionately to the area falling within the community. Because our community areas are large, however, these allocated crimes represent a very small proportion of all crimes.

We had one additional problem. Police department data are organized by district, and none of our communities is coterminous with a district. This meant that the department had to do special computer runs for us. Since the department did not want to do runs for every possible community because of time and money constraints, we started with general assessments of areas derived from discussions with knowledgeable people, including representatives of the department. This enabled us to minimize the number of runs which had to be done. Ultimately, we specified boundaries for ten communities from which we were able to choose the appropriate eight.

The city-wide average for index crime in 1978 was sixty-five crimes per thousand population; we decided that communities above the mean would be classified as high crime ones and those below the mean would be categorized as low crime.

In computing rates for our communities, we were still faced with the problem of determining the population of each one. The 1970 census was of little help. Chicago, like many other major cities, has been losing population steadily for the last two decades, and, if the numbers of abandoned buildings and land clearance projects in our areas are any indication, some of them have been losing population at fairly dramatic rates. We located 1978 population estimates by census tract,

and by aggregating them, were able to determine estimates for each community. Table 2.1 gives the rates for personal and property index crimes based on 1978 verified crime reports and 1978 population estimates.

TABLE 2.1

1978 INDEX CRIME RATES BY COMMUNITY[a]

Community	Personal Crime[b]	Property Crime[c]	Total Index Crime
Low Crime:			
1. East Side	1.94	26.22	28.16
2. Beverly	2.30	28.52	30.82
3. Portage Park	1.63	33.35	34.98
4. Back of the Yards	9.13	46.25	55.38
High Crime:			
5. Lincoln Park	7.55	70.54	78.09
6. Austin	15.99	67.42	83.41
7. South Shore	17.42	80.48	97.90
8. Hyde Park/Kenwood	13.45	93.25	106.70

[a]Rates are per 1,000 population.

[b]Includes homicide, rape, assault, and robbery.

[c]Includes burglary, index theft, and auto theft.

There is extensive argument in the literature about the validity of crime reports such as those we have used. Arguments have been made that reporting rates vary systematically among different groups in the population (National Research Council, 1976), and that police deal with crime reports differentially (see Silberman, 1978). One check on the validity of this rank order comes from our own survey. We asked respondents whether they or anyone in their household had experienced victimization

since January, 1978, across a series of crimes. Readers should bear in mind, then, that these figures are for a period of more than one year (15 to 18 months). In addition, they represent the occurrence of victimization rather than the actual number of victimizations, and they are not standardized for household size. Table 2.2 reports the figures, again listing the communities in rank order.

TABLE 2.2

HOUSEHOLD VICTIMIZATIONS

(Per 1,000 Respondents by Community)

Community	Personal	Property	Personal plus Property
1. Beverly	53.98	160.71	214.69
2. Portage Park	40.82	183.67	224.49
3. East Side	39.41	198.53	237.94
4. Hyde Park/Kenwood	92.23	230.58	322.81
5. Lincoln Park	72.94	253.52	326.46
6. South Shore	94.69	243.12	337.81
7. Back of the Yards	110.57	235.87	346.44
8. Austin	143.96	246.79	390.75

Spearman's rank order correlations were calculated for crime rates and reported victimization rates. The correlation for personal crime, at the community level, was .857; for property crime, it was .619; and for total crime, the correlation was .571. Thus, although the rank orders change somewhat, for the most part the distinction between high and low crime communities was maintained.

There was, however, one startling, unanticipated result. Reports of the Back of the Yards residents moved them firmly into the high crime end of our communities. We were particularly surprised at this because

the Northwestern University Reactions to Crime Project had recently studied this area (although with somewhat narrower boundaries) and had included it as a low crime area. Knowledgeable informants had also placed it in that category. This brought a level of ambiguity into our analysis which we have been able to convert into an advantage. The community is undergoing many important changes, and we were able to watch them closely. At this point, it should simply be reported that on the basis of most of our other data, Back of the Yards fits more closely into the high crime camp than it does into the low crime one.

In addition to Back of the Yards, the other big change in rank is Hyde Park/Kenwood which moves from eighth to fourth. Hyde Park/Kenwood is the community which reports the highest proportion of its crime, something we would expect given that it is a highly mobilized community with an extensive amount of private policing. This matter will be discussed in more detail subsequently.

The most surprising finding is that the low crime communities show the biggest discrepancies between official statistics and victimization reports. The fact that these communities are at the low end, i.e., have fewer absolute numbers of crimes means, of course, that relatively small numerical differences will result in relatively large percentage differences. Nevertheless, the order of magnitude of the differences between the two sets of figures is still sizable. These communities are, comparatively speaking, racially homogeneous, single family household areas. We speculate that when white-on-white crime takes place, some of it perhaps in barroom fights and some of it in youth fights, citizens are less likely to report it and, if they do report it, the police are less likely to make an arrest. Large numbers of respondents in these communities do report that youth crime is their biggest problem. Such an explanation would be consistent with our more general findings that

when crime, or something like crime, happens between blacks and whites, it is seen as more frightening and threatening to whites than similar events between whites. We will continue to explore this problem.

Property Values. The Cook County Assessor's Office has all real estate transactions in the area recorded on tape, but has so far been unwilling to make them available even to other agencies of government. Consequently, to ascertain levels of appreciation, we turned to one of a series of publications, The Realty Sales Guide, which lists an unspecified sample of sales for different areas of the city. We recorded sales of all structures for the years 1973 through 1978.

Initially, we made use of Sanborn maps provided by the city to determine whether the buildings sold were single-family dwellings, multiple-family dwellings, commercial, or industrial properties and whether they were of brick or frame construction. During the course of our research, however, the Sanborns ceased to be available for use. After attempts to locate other sources for this information proved to be of no avail, we visited the site of each sale to determine these facts about it.

We and other scholars (see Molotch, 1972) have tried to determine the merits of various sources of property value information. Our findings all more or less agree that despite the fact that the number of sales is seriously underestimated in the Realty Sales Guide, there does not seem to be any systematic bias concerning what is included or dropped. In addition, we have discussed our rates with knowledgeable observers, and have compared asking prices as they appear in newspapers.

We decided to limit ourselves to the sale of single family houses because they seem to be more comparable on average and to represent clearly-defined sub-markets in each of our communities. We thus excluded not only multiple-family dwellings, but also condominiums.

Table 2.3 shows the estimated rates of appreciation for each of the eight neighborhoods, listing them in rank order. As with the victimization data, there was also an unanticipated departure from our original classification schema here. South Shore, initially classified as slowly appreciating, and Portage Park, initially classified as rapidly appreciating, in fact show virtually identical rates over the five-year period. When we selected the neighborhoods for study, we had available to us data for only the first six months of 1978. Those data clearly showed property values in Portage Park to be appreciating at a more rapid rate than those in South Shore. Data for the entire year, however, just as clearly show their rates to be the same. What we have, then, are two communities with medium rates of appreciation. As we will see in our subsequent discussions and analyses, these two communities in some ways resemble the unambiguously high-appreciation communities, but in others are more like the low-appreciation ones.

TABLE 2.3

MEDIAN SALE PRICE - SINGLE FAMILY HOMES--DETACHED
ALL CONSTRUCTION TYPES
(Number of Sales in Parentheses)

Neighborhood	1973	1978	Percent Increase
1. Lincoln Park	$23,000 (37)	$107,250 (36)	366
2. Hyde Park/Kenwood	$42,250 (18)	$ 95,000 (22)	124
3. Beverly	$27,000 (207)	$ 57,500 (111)	113
4. South Shore	$22,900 (129)	$ 45,000 (29)	96
5. Portage Park	$33,000 (249)	$ 64,500 (61)	95
6. East Side	$25,000 (142)	$ 41,000 (24)	64
7. Austin	$20,000 (236)	$ 31,000 (47)	55
8. Back of the Yards	$17,000 (91)	$ 20,250 (22)	19

The reader should note, however, that housing prices in Portage Park start at a higher level than those in two of our other three high appreciation neighborhoods. Portage Park's basic housing stock is the small bungalow which, when set against the grander housing of Beverly and the more diverse stock of Lincoln Park, pales indeed. Because both of the latter neighborhoods had depressed housing prices in the late 1960s, they have had further to travel in order to represent something more nearly approximating the true value of the housing. It may also be true, although we suggest this with diffidence, that given both housing size and quality and other external amenities on the one hand, and the social class of the residents who live in each place on the other, higher price ceilings are possible in those two neighborhoods than is the case in Portage Park.

Although we are confident that the rank orders for the communities represent the real situation, we are somewhat skeptical about the actual rates reported. It should be pointed out that the city registers sales when the title is transferred. There are other kinds of purchase agreements, however, which may not show up for a long time, such as sales on contract where the title does not change hands until the final payment. These types of sales tend to occur in deteriorating areas where low income purchasers cannot provide the money for down payment, or where the areas are so effectively red-lined that mortgage money is not available. If these sales were to be included, the median sale price for those areas would probably be further depressed.

Racial Composition. In this instance, we were again unable to rely on the census. However, we had available to us a report by the Chicago Urban League entitled "Where Blacks Live" (1978). This report identified areas where blacks lived in 1970, and where they lived in 1977. On that basis, we were able to identify communities where change had taken place. Our survey data confirm the Urban League's findings for 1977.

Community as Social Context

In this section we turn to a discussion of how we determined community boundaries. Perhaps one of the most perplexing and frustrating problems associated with the study of community is the elusive nature of the concept itself. Studies which attempt to formulate analytical definitions of community are legion in both the sociological and geographical literature (Hillery, 1955; Warren, R., 1973; Everitt and Cadwallader, 1977). Indeed, much of the debate about the role of the community in modern industrial society revolves around the definitional problem (Suttles, 1972). Our interest in the influence of community on perceptions of crime and deterioration required our coming to grips with this problem.

Let us begin with a brief overview of the definitional problem of "community". Attempts to define community result largely from social scientists' desire to divide the city into a number of socio-physical entities. Although community has been defined in a number of ways, there appear to be three main elements of community that have received some degree of agreement: (1) common locality; (2) interaction; and (3) shared values and institutions (Hillery, 1955; Hunter, 1975). The definitional problem largely stems from the fact that researchers have differentially emphasized these elements.

In the perennial debate over the existence or non-existence of community in modern society (Nisbet, 1953; Stein, 1960), the manner in which community has been conceptualized has determined the results. One can define community out of existence by formulating very strict definitions with a large number of conditional constraints. Conversely, one can employ such a loose definition that any socio-physical entity qualifies.

In logic, when one redefines a concept in a more restricted (high redefinition) or less restricted sense (low redefinition) than is commonly accepted, one typically refutes a proposition other than that which he set out

to refute and is guilty of _ignoratio elenchi_ (Edwards. 1973:29-31). Edwards (1973:30) provides us with a good example of _ignoratio elenchi_. Suppose one were to start with the statement that "There are several thousand physicians in New York City." Person A concludes that this proposition is false. Upon closer scrutiny, it is revealed that Person A defined 'physician' as anyone who possesses a medical degree and can cure a person in two minutes or less. Thus, his conclusion that the proposition is false rests upon his "high redefinition" of the term physician. Similarly, Person B says that the proposition is false, and contends that there are several hundred thousand physicians in New York City. This is curious, until it becomes obvious that Person B defined 'physician' as anyone who can treat a common cold. Person B's conclusion rests upon a "low redefinition" of the term physician.

The same thing has occurred in the debate over the existence of community. High redefinitions of community have led to the conclusion that community either no longer exists or plays only a vestigial role in modern industrial society (Nisbet, 1953; Stein, 1960). Low redefinitions have led to conclusions at the opposite extreme (cf. Wellman, 1979; Wellman and Leighton, 1979). A different approach to community is needed if we are to do meaningful research. Thus, we here move away from the formulation of analytical definitions of community and toward a conceptualization of community as a variable.

One of the ideas underlying most conceptualizations of community, at least implicitly, is that the community serves as a social context or environment for its inhabitants. As a social context, it is likely to differ in both form and importance across individuals and social groups. Thus, community as a social context may vary in the extent to which it serves as an interactional pool for its residents, the kinds of institutions it provides, the amount of symbolic-sentimental attachment, etc.

A similar perspective is seen in the work of recent community

researchers who have avoided the "definitional problem". The various types and typologies of community, such as the "community without propinquity" (Webber, 1963), the "community of limited liability" (Janowitz, 1967), or the "defended neighborhood" (Suttles, 1972), may be viewed as attempts to capture the role of the community as a social environment in a holistic manner.

There is an expanding body of contemporary community research which lends support to such a perspective. A number of network analysts have shown the variety of interaction patterns exhibited by city dwellers (Laumann, 1973; Fischer, 1976; Fischer, et al, 1977; Wellman, 1979). The findings of these studies show that individuals may vary greatly in the types of networks they develop--e.g., single- versus multi-stranded, and spatially diffused versus locally restricted. Taub, et al. (1977) have shown that individuals may have a clear sense of community identification without the community serving as a locus of much activity. In addition, Hunter (1974; 1975) has shown a wide range of variation in symbolic-sentimental attachment across individuals and social groups. Similarly, Breton (1964) and Seiler and Summers (1974) have shown variation in the institutional completeness and spatial distribution of institutional use. Perhaps the most holistic approach to research in this area to date is that of D. Warren (1977; 1978) who com- pared a number of communities in the Detroit area in terms of the functions they provided for their residents.

These results also point to another shortcoming of the definitional approach, namely, that any analytical definition of community assumes that interactional, institutional, and symbolic-sentimental patterns are the same for all communities. In viewing the community as a social context, the primary concern of the community researcher is no longer to analytically define com- munity, but rather to measure the extent and manner in which the area in ques- tion serves as a social context for its residents. In this sense, the community

becomes behaviorally defined in terms of the action patterns of its residents-- e.g., their interaction patterns or institutional use. The community's role as a social environment will vary with the needs and preferences of the indi- viduals who inhabit it.

Methodological Considerations

Generally, research has seen community as a kind of social group or form of social organization having an impact on individuals' lives. Specifi- cally, we are interested in the impact of the community on perceptions of crime and deterioration. We know that levels of crime, levels of fear of crime, and levels of deterioration are not randomly distributed throughout the city. Thus, in addition to traditional approaches to survey research, the data were arranged in another way in terms of levels of aggregation to deal with this aspect of the problem (Davis, 1971:5). This has typically been referred to as contextual or multi-level analysis (Davis, 1971; Boyd and Iversen, 1979). The goal of this type of analysis is to investigate how the distribution of cases at one level influences another property at a different level--to what extent are individuals affected by the groups to which they belong?

When the researcher undertakes contextual or multi-level analysis, it is desirable, from a methodological point of view as well as a theoretical one, to choose units of analysis which are socially meaningful or realistic. This is particularly important when the researcher uses the unit of analysis as a sampling frame, as we have in this study. The social group or context under study must be well defined; otherwise, one is unnecessarily introducing misspecification into the analysis by choosing units which have no social meaning for the residents. Consequently, the interest in the community as a social environment requires the researcher to develop more reliable units of analysis than census tracts or school districts. The units must in some sense

be socially meaningful, i.e., there must be actors who identify them and behave in socially relevant ways toward them.

This brings us to the task of operationally defining our units of analysis at the community level. The problems at hand are somewhat lessened by the fact that we were doing research in the city of Chicago which has a rich heritage of community studies. Indeed, the attempts of the Chicago School sociologists to divide the city into Burgess-Palmer community areas has provided us with a great deal of insight into the problems associated with such an endeavor (Barsky, 1974). In addition, since their conceptualization in the 1930s, the Burgess-Palmer community areas have been well promulgated, and in some cases inculcated, through the use of the Local Community Fact Book (Kitagawa and Taeuber, 1963; hereafter, LCFB). The community areas defined by Burgess and Palmer have been widely used by the media and have been officially adopted by such city agencies as Model Cities and the Department of Development and Planning (Barsky, 1974). As a result, they are well known and fairly well accepted as communities. For these reasons, the Burgess-Palmer community areas served as the starting point in the defining of our units of analysis.

It should be apparent that the main limitation of using the Burgess-Palmer community areas is the fact that they were developed in the 1930s, and are now somewhat outdated. To rectify this problem, we drew upon the work of Hunter (1974) who studied the changes in community names and boundaries between 1930 and 1968--i.e., in essence, an update of Burgess and Palmer's work. In addition, we utilized a number of recent community studies which dealt with the eight communities we selected for study. Among these studies are Molotch's (1972) study of South Shore, Kornblum's (1974) study of the southeastern section of the city, including the East Side neighborhood, and Goodwin's (1979) comparative study of Oak Park and Austin. In addition, each neighborhood

has community organizations which set out carefully to define their "turf". These were also taken into account. These sources were augmented by careful scrutinization of local neighborhood newspapers, interviews, and field work. Our understanding of the South Shore area was further enhanced by our earlier surveys, 1974 and 1978, and field work.

Defining Objects of Analysis: How Community Areas Were Defined

Hunter (1974:67-93) has described the processes by which communities acquire new names and/or boundaries. He refers to the process in which one area is annexed to another, or given a similar name, as "fusion". Below is a brief account of how each of the eight community areas was defined as well as a map of each community as defined by Burgess and Palmer and as conceptualized by us.

We begin with Austin. Austin is the largest of our eight communities. From the original conceptualization by Burgess and Palmer, the boundaries of Austin were modified in the following manner: the peninsula which juts westward from the northwestern edge was excluded. This area is commonly called Galewood, and both Hunter (1974) and Goodwin (1979) found that residents of the area did not consider themselves to be members of the Austin community. In addition, the Galewood area is outside the boundaries defined by Austin's local community organizations. One further modification was made. A large industrial park in the northeastern portion of Austin was excluded from the random digit dialing survey since most of the telephone numbers in that area were not residential (see Exhibit 2.1).

Back of the Yards, located around the Union Stockyards on the city's southwest side, was also modified. As can be seen from Exhibit 2.2, this area was considered part of a larger area called New City (LCFB). According to Hunter (1974:74-5), New City, as defined by Burgess and Palmer, also includes

Exhibit 2.1 Austin

City Limits

CMSP & P RR

GALEWOOD

City Limits

City Limits

BRC

City Limits
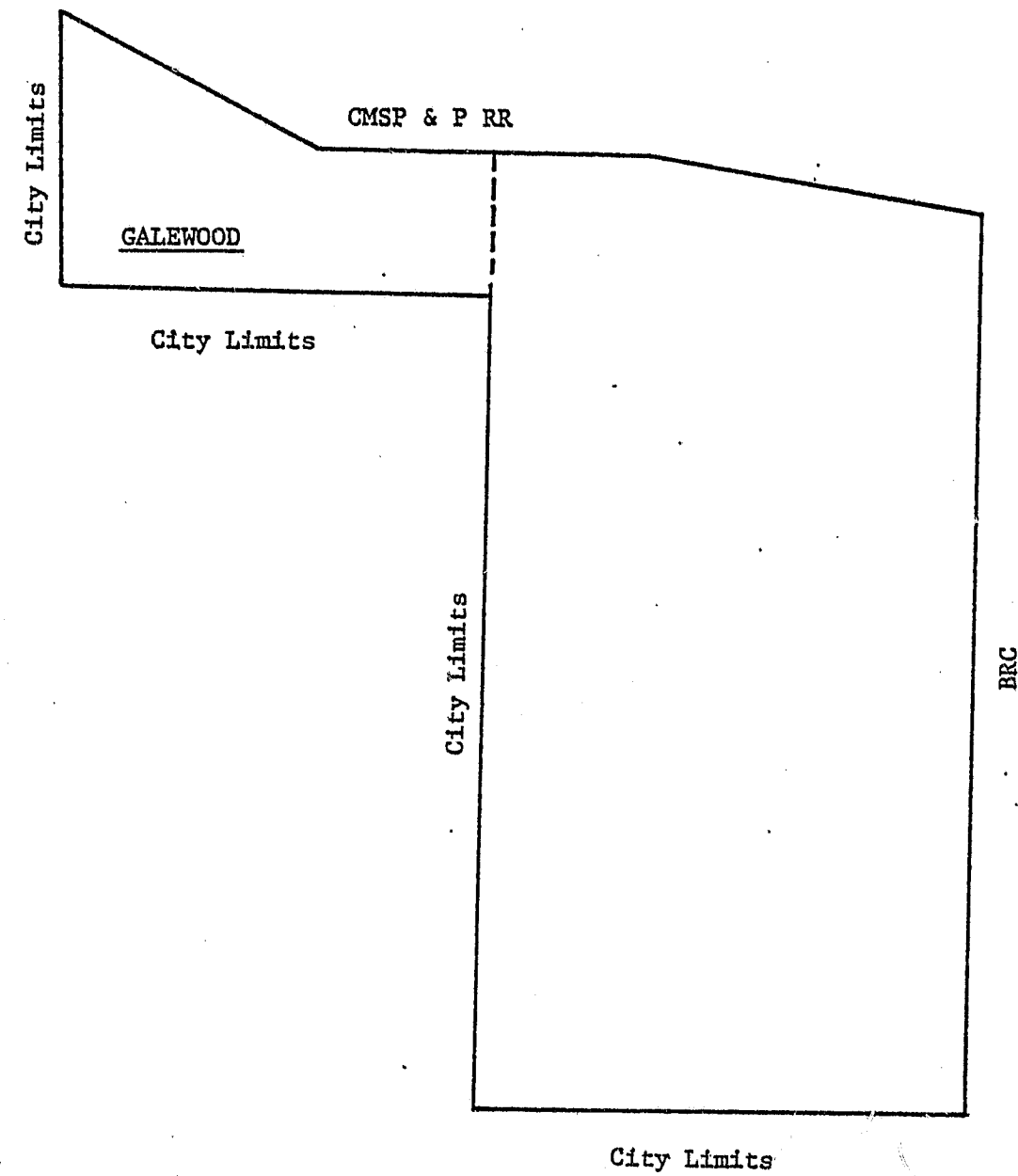
2 1 0   2   4   6

Scale in Thousands of Feet

Exhibit 2.2 Back of the Yards

39th Street

Western Avenue

Penn. C. RR

CANARYVILLE

Penn C. RR

55th Street
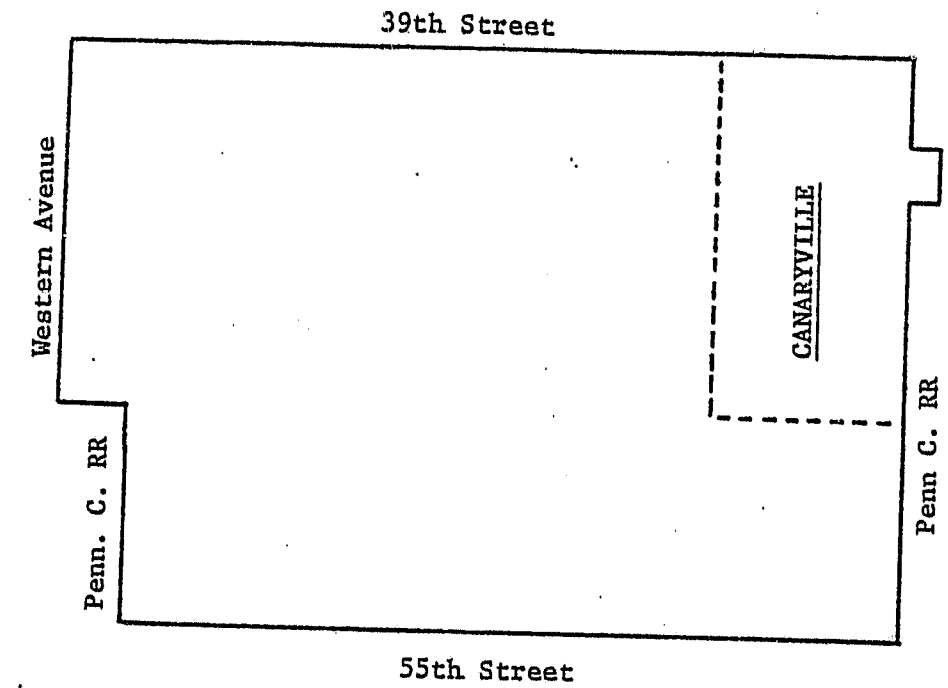
Exhibit 2.2a From Kitagawa and Taeuber (1963)

43rd Street

45th Street

47th Street

49th Street

Western Ave.

Damen

Ashland

Penn C. RR

Halsted

55th Street
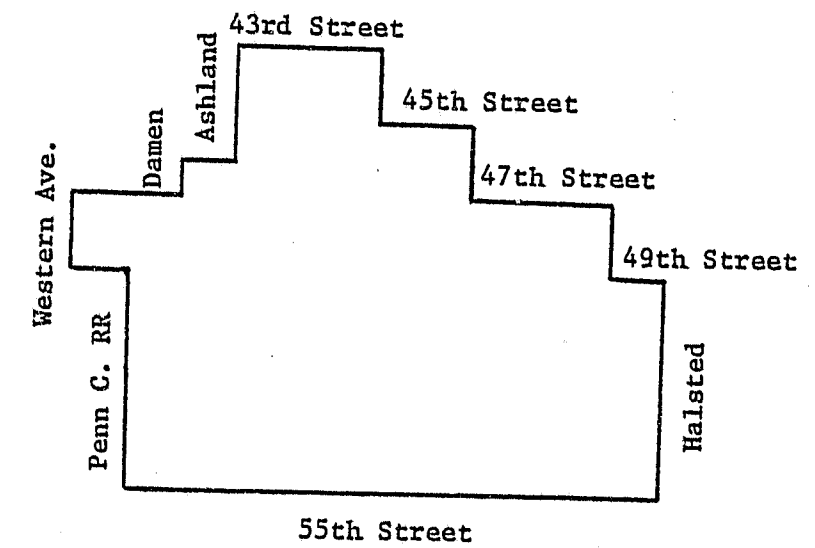
Exhibit 2.2b

an area called Canaryville, which has a rich historical heritage in its own

right (Holt and Pacyga, 1979:121-39). In addition, Canaryville is largely

separated from Back of the Yards by the stockyards area itself and by a

number of railroad yards. Most of the area we have excluded from our sampling

frame is north of 43rd Street and is largely stockyard area and railroad yards,

along with the Canaryville area.

In the Beverly neighborhood the original Burgess-Palmer boundaries

were maintained (see Exhibit 2.3). The work of Hunter (1974) and our own

perusal of local newspapers and community organization materials demonstrated

that the community's boundaries had not changed.

The original boundaries were also retained for the East Side neigh-

borhood. This is supported by the research of both Hunter (1974) and Korn-

blum (1974). The continued acceptance of these boundaries no doubt stems from

the fact that East Side has such prominent physical boundaries. On the

northern and western edges, it is bounded by the Calumet River; on the east,

it is bounded by the lake and the Illinois-Indiana State line (see Exhibit 2.4).

The Hyde Park/Kenwood community represents an interesting case of

what Hunter (1974) calls "fusion". Burgess and Palmer originally separated

Hyde Park and Kenwood into two distinct communities (see LCFB:923;96-7).

However, over the last 30 years, the southern section of Kenwood, i.e., from

47th Street to 51st Street (see Exhibit 2.5), has come to be perceived by

residents and organizations alike as a part of the Hyde Park community.

In Lincoln Park, the Burgess-Palmer boundaries were in essence retained.

The only change made here was to exclude a heavily industrial area in the

northwestern corner of the community (see Exhibit 2.6). Again, the continuity

of Lincoln Park's boundaries over time is traceable to the fact that it has

prominent physical boundaries on the west (Chicago River) and the east (Lake

Michigan). Hunter (1974) also found this to be true. Additionally, the

Exhibit 2.3 Beverly
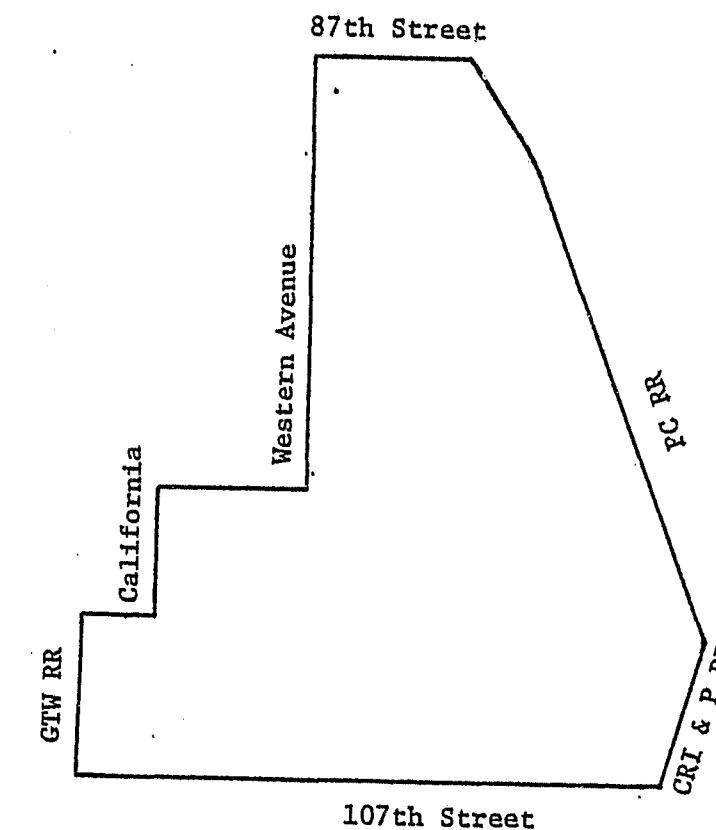
From Kitagawa and Taeuber (1963)

Exhibit 2.4   East Side
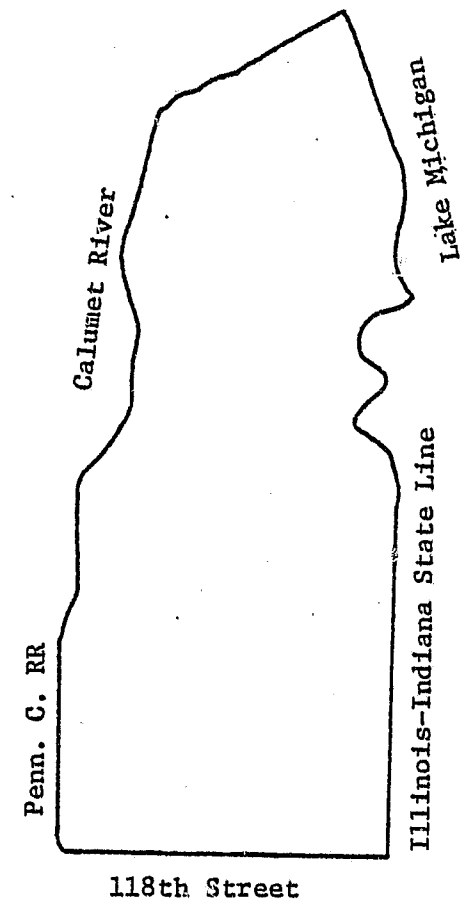
From Kitagawa and Taeuber (1963)

Exhibit 2.5   Hyde Park/Kenwood
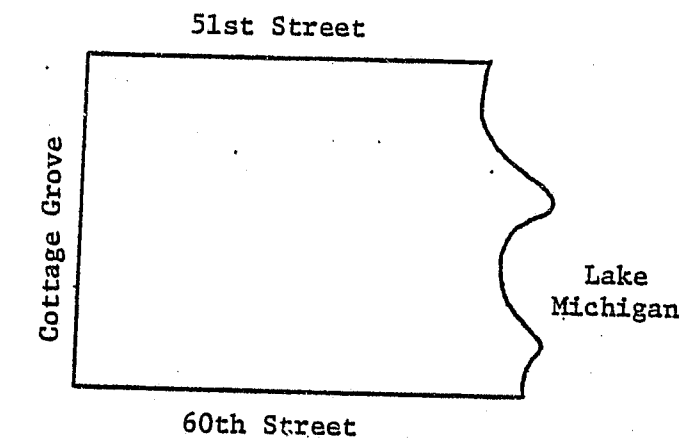
Exhibit 2.5a   From Kitagawa and Taeuber (1963)
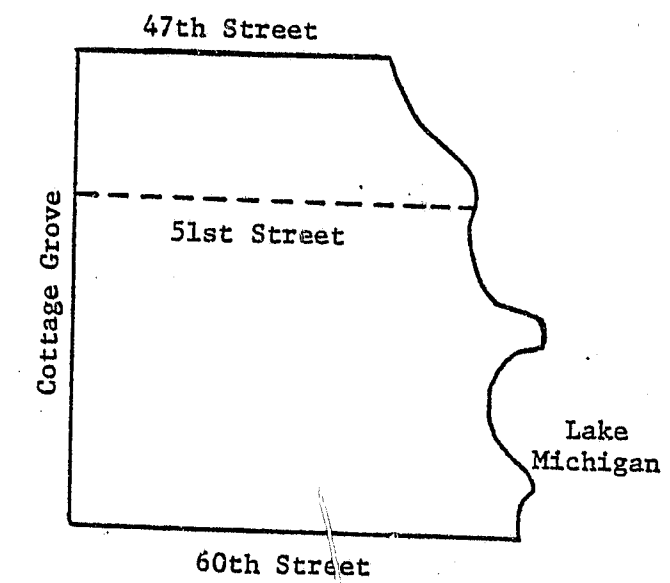
Exhibit 2.5b   From Hunter (1974)

Exhibit 2.6 Lincoln Park

Diversey Parkway

Lake
Michigan

Chicago River

North Avenue
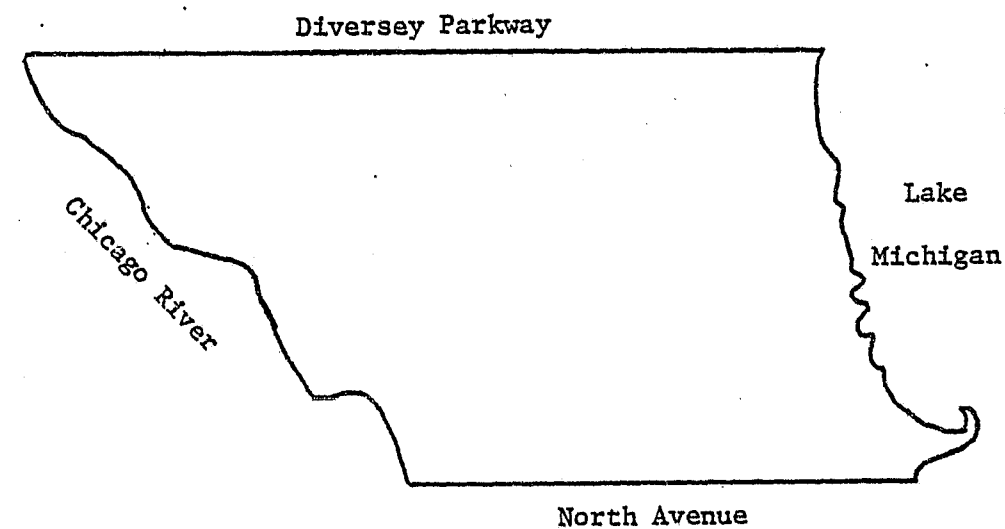
From Kitagawa and Taeuber (1963)

presence of a strong community organization has contributed to the consensus about boundaries.

Portage Park, located on the city's northwest side, was also modified from the initial Burgess-Palmer definition (see Exhibit 2.7) in that the area north of Montrose Avenue was excluded. Hunter's (1974) work indicated that the original Burgess-Palmer boundaries were no longer accepted by residents and, in our own field work, we found that the area north of Montrose had become "fused" to the Jefferson Park community. Even with this modification, however, Portage Park remains the only one of our areas whose status as a well-defined area is in doubt.

Large quantities of data support our definition of South Shore. Earlier research, including our own surveys in 1974 and 1978, intensive field work, and Molotch's (1972) study, has provided us with a wealth of information about the South Shore community. As can be seen in Exhibit 2.8, our definition of South Shore's boundaries differs slightly from that originally proposed by Burgess-Palmer, and Hunter (1974). Based upon Molotch's (1972) study and our own research, the southwestern corner and the area to the east of Exchange Avenue were excluded. This is because both the people who resided in these areas and those in South Shore agreed that these areas were not part of the South Shore community. The people who lived east of Exchange Avenue felt they were a part of the South Chicago community, while those on the other side of South Chicago Avenue called their community South Shore Valley.

The Survey

Having selected our eight communities and determined their boundaries, we proceeded to the tasks of obtaining a representative sample of residents in each of them and developing the survey instrument.

The Sample

Our sample was chosen utilizing NORC's random digit dialing (RDD)

Exhibit 2.7 Portage Park

Gunnison

Lawrence

Narragansett

Cicero

Irving Pk.

Chicago & NW RR

Belmont Avenue
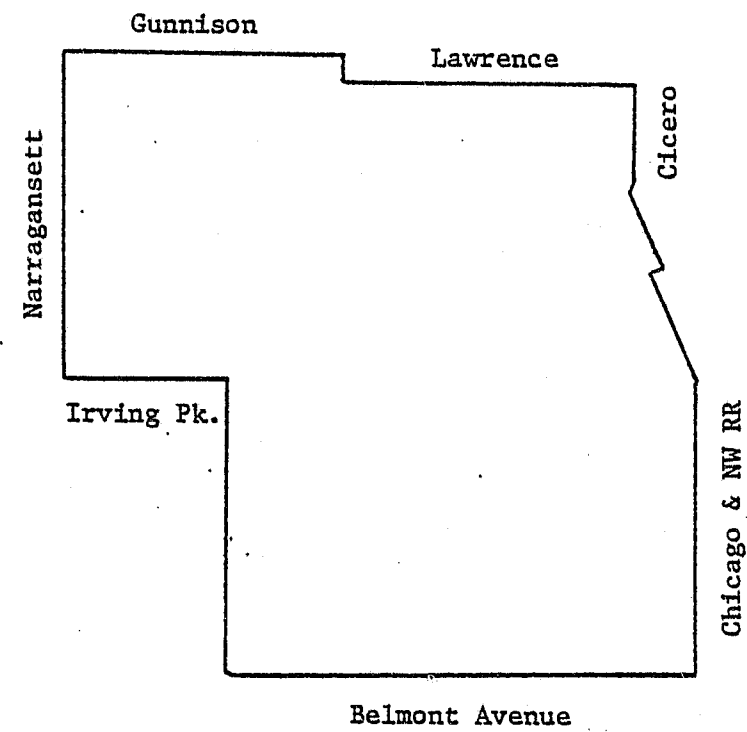
Exhibit 2.7a From Kitagawa and Taeuber (1963)

Montrose Avenue

Narragansett

Cicero

Belmont Avenue
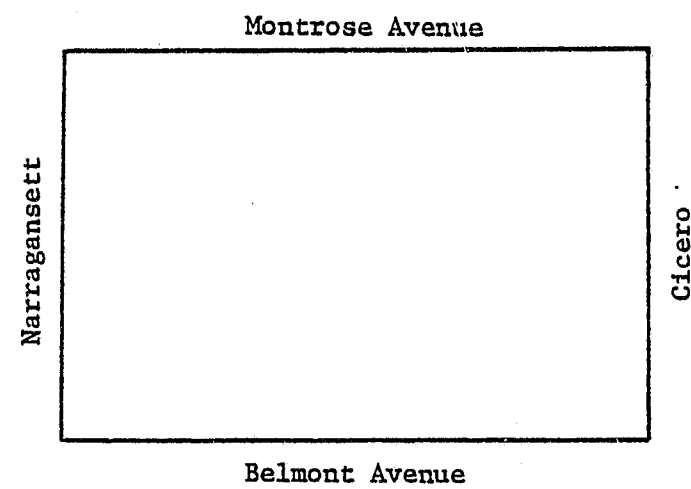
Exhibit 2.7b From Hunter (1974)

Exhibit 2.8 South Shore

67th Street

I C RR

Lake
Michigan

South Chicago

79th Street
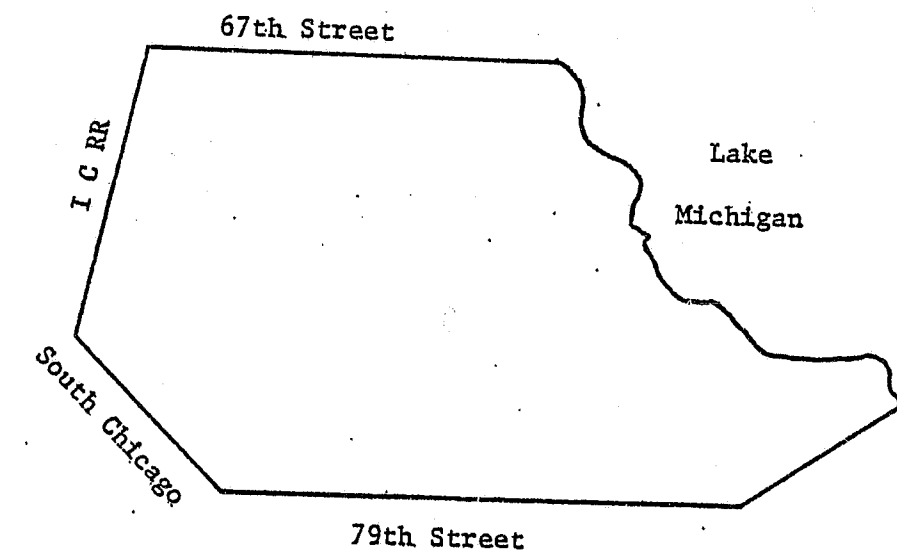
Exhibit 2.8a From Kitagawa and Taeuber (1963)

67th Street

Stony Island

Lake
Michigan

South Chicago

Exchange

83rd Street
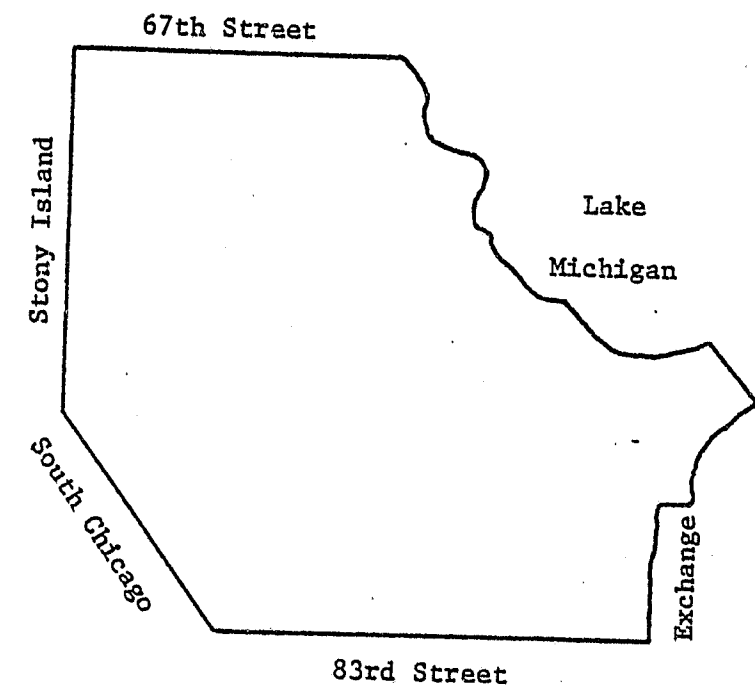
Exhibit 2.8b

selection program. A telephone survey has several advantages over in-person interviews, especially in a study such as ours. Some of the techniques involved in the fielding of a personal interview survey make it impractical at the neighborhood level.

In particular, the use of cluster samples in the study of crime and fear of crime in urban neighborhoods is suspect. Although clustering reduces costs considerably, the power of the sample to estimate the population is reduced in proportion to the number and size of the clusters and the degree of within-cluster homogeneity. If crime and fear of crime were not geographically-concentrated, then large clusters would not involve difficulties. However, if clusters within the neighborhood are homogeneous in terms of socioeconomic status or race, and if these factors are related to crime and fear of crime, then the cluster method substantially decreases the sample's power to accurately estimate the characteristics of the neighborhood. Telephone sampling and specifically random digit dialing is under no such constraint and is thus well-suited for this undertaking.

On a more practical level, there are other factors that make a random telephone survey desirable. It is often difficult to gain access to the residences of potential respondents in an urban environment. Additionally, because of the factorial design of the study itself, the safety of the interviewers was a major consideration. Centralized calling allows greater supervision and increases the probability that interviews in unsafe neighborhoods will be completed.

One major criticism of the telephone survey methodology has focused on the bias resulting from the fact that not all families could afford a telephone. Therefore, a telephone sample would underrepresent disadvantaged families. In surveys of crime and fear of crime, this could be especially problematic as these families would tend to reside in higher crime areas and

hence would be of particular substantive interest. However, present-day saturation of the telephone has become so great that the exclusion of non-telephone households is no longer a liability for telephone survey sampling (see Lucas and Adams, 1977).

The use of random digit dialing has the added benefit that it avoids the problems of sampling telephone directories, i.e., the exclusion of non-listed numbers. Non-listed numbers may be absent from directories by request or because they are new listings. An unpublished study, cited by Judd (1966), done by Illinois Bell showed that 20 percent of all Chicago customers of the Bell Company were not listed. This makes the use of the RDD approach most attractive since all working household numbers are given an equal chance of selection whether listed or not (see Groves, 1978).

The methodology and logic behind RDD techniques are relatively straightforward. RDD takes advantage of the fact that telephone numbers are assigned by three-digit exchanges, and within these exchanges, consecutively within blocks of 1,000. Assuming that unlisted numbers are distributed throughout all exchanges and blocks, we can assume that we have an unbiased probability sample of all listed and unlisted residential telephones and, hence, households. Lucas and Adams (1977) found that listed and unlisted numbers were indeed evenly-distributed throughout the Pittsburgh area, the subject of their study.

We originally estimated that approximately 16,750 telephone numbers would be necessary in order to obtain our goal of 400 completed interviews in each neighborhood. Unfortunately, with our need to interview respondents within a well-defined area--the neighborhood--the number of telephone numbers required ran much higher than initial expectations.

We were forced to screen out of the gross sample a large number of telephone numbers, ranging from 22.0 percent in Austin to fully 53.8 percent

in Back of the Yards, and averaging a substantial 43.5 percent of the gross sample. This result reflects a generic problem with RDD when applied to small units of analysis such as neighborhoods—the boundaries of the sample and the telephone company's system of prefix allocation are not always in agreement. In addition, it is possible to have non-exclusive prefixes among the neighborhoods being sampled. This occurred in Hyde Park/Kenwood, South Shore, and East Side where four prefix areas fell in some combination within the three communities. To deal with this problem, a combined sample was generated in all four prefix areas, allowing the numbers to be screened for invalid, business, or ineligible numbers in all three communities simultaneously.

The final numbers of completed interviews in each neighborhood are given below.

Portage Park	395
Lincoln Park	433
Austin	395
Back of the Yards	418
Beverly	401
Hyde Park/Kenwood	417
South Shore	441
East Side	410
Total	3,310

In our survey, an average of 20.4 percent of the net fielded sample broke off the interview before the screener could be completed. In addition, an average of 9.1 percent for whom eligibility could be established terminated the interview before completion. For the net fielded sample as a whole, then, we compute an approximate refusal rate of 29.5 percent. Because refusal rates are calculated in such a myriad of ways, comparisons are problematic.

However, our rate compares favorably with Wiseman (1972) who reported a refusal rate of 36 percent over the telephone, and with Hauck and Cox (1974) who reported a refusal rate of 35 percent.

Completion rates are similarly calculated in different ways. We computed completion rates for our survey two ways, one more conservative than the other. The conservative method includes any case not determined to be an invalid, a business, or an ineligible number, i.e., includes all unknown numbers, all missing documents (those lost in the mail, etc.), and all unpublished numbers for whom eligibility could not be established. With this method, we obtain a completion rate of 51.8 percent. The other method involves a different computation of eligible households, one that we think is reasonable for our study. Here eligible households include all completed cases; all missing documents; all published numbers for which either the screener or the questionnaire was broken off; and all those for which there was no answer the entire field period, for which a language other than English or Spanish was spoken, and for which the respondent was too aged, senile, or hard of hearing to complete the interview. The unknowns and the unpublished eligibility-unknown numbers were allocated proportionately to each neighborhood, on the assumption that eligibility rates are identical within a neighborhood for published and unpublished numbers. Using this method, we obtain a completion rate of 62.9 percent. Both of these rates are in line with Groves' (1978) finding that response rates for telephone surveys generally lie between 59 and 70 percent.

The Instrument

Copies of both the screener and the questionnaire appear in Appendix A. The instrument was designed to measure victimization experience, fear and perceptions of crime, attitudes toward neighborhood quality and resources, attitudes toward the neighborhood as an investment, and density of community

involvement. Some items we developed ourselves; others we adapted from other works; and still others we included directly from other surveys so that comparisons would be possible.

Criminal victimization, being both an individual experience and a community attribute, is of central concern to our study. As an individual experience, we expect victimization to have ramifications for a wide range of personal attitudes toward the community, including the willingness to invest, both psychologically and economically, in the neighborhood. At the community level, our victimization data have provided a supplement to police crime statistics, and thus enabled us to obtain a more complete picture of the crime situation in our neighborhoods.

In addition to measures of actual experience with crime, our survey included a number of items to tap fear and concern about crime as well as reactions to crime. As discussed in Chapter 1, fear of crime is not necessarily a direct function of the amount of crime that people face. Hence, it becomes important to assess these factors independently of both the community-level crime rate and individual experience with crime. Our questions included respondents' perceptions of both the amount of crime in their neighborhood and the likelihood of experiencing victimization themselves, what protective behaviors they have engaged in to avoid crime, and their perceptions of incivility (i.e., environmental cues associated with individual safety, such as teenagers loitering on street corners. See Garofalo and Laub, 1978; Lewis and Maxfield, 1978).

As discussed in Chapter 1, the occurrence of racial change in a neighborhood may mask or modify the relationship between crime and neighborhood decline. Therefore, in addition to our independent assessment of the racial composition of our neighborhoods described above, we asked respondents whether they considered their neighborhood to be racially stable or racially changing.

As we will see, one's perception on this issue has a major influence on other attitudes and behaviors vis-a-vis one's neighborhood. It is important to know what racial change means to residents as well as whether they think it is occurring. Consequently, we also asked respondents' opinions on a series of statements about what happens when a few black families move into an all-white neighborhood.

Attitudes toward neighborhood quality and resources and toward the neighborhood as an investment are at the core of our theoretical concerns, for neighborhood deterioration ultimately stems from negative assessments on these dimensions and the resultant curtailment of the behaviors necessary for adequate maintenance. Thus, a large proportion of the survey instrument was devoted to these issues. We asked respondents how satisfied they were both with the neighborhood as a whole and with specific aspects of the neighborhood. In addition, those respondents who had moved into the neighborhood within the five years preceding the survey were asked how important each of the specific factors was in their decision to move into the neighborhood. We also inquired whether each of a series of items, ranging from barking dogs to abandoned buildings, was a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem in the neighborhood. Finally, we asked respondents for an overall evaluation of the neighborhood's recent past and near future.

Although several of the specific satisfaction items relate to the investment potential of the neighborhood, one in particular--the way property values are going--is more directly economic in nature. Besides this item, we asked respondents whether a hypothetical family would be making a good financial investment if they bought a house in the respondent's neighborhood or would they be better off investing elsewhere.

The last major topic of concern in our study is the density of community involvement. Not only did we expect community participation to be

related to neighborhood satisfaction (Hunter, 1974; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974), but also to fear and concern about crime and to investment decisions. Our questions here tapped both the extent of use of local facilities and the frequency of social interaction. In addition, respondents were asked about organizational memberships.

To gain the confidence of the respondent and to assure that confidentiality would be maintained, we inquired during the screening process only whether the selected address was in a certain block of a particular street. At no time was the respondent asked to give potentially identifiable information to the interviewer.

During the pretest of both the screener and the questionnaire on 40 respondents in the selected communities, refusal and breakoff rates were quite high, and certain parts of the documents were identified as problematic. In particular, we found that some questions which had been used previously in personal interviews were too lengthy or had response categories that were too complicated for use over the telephone. In addition, some of the personal questions such as the number of people living in the household and whether the respondent owned or rented were perceived as very threatening in their original placement near the beginning of the interview. We were especially concerned with respondent anxiety in this study because of the sensitivity surrounding the issues of crime and fear of crime. Modification of the instrument—of both the questions themselves and their order—did much to alleviate these difficulties.

Supplementary Data

One of the most unusual and innovative aspects of our study is the systematic utilization of supplementary data sources. Comparison of these data with our survey responses has allowed us to disentangle the processes involved in neighborhood change and deterioration in ways not possible using

survey data alone. Specifically, we have independent information about crime and about deterioration of both residential and commercial areas.

As discussed above, we were able to obtain block-by-block police crime reports. In addition to using these figures to select our eight neighborhoods, we have been able to compare them with victimization reports from the survey. Not only do we have crime rates for the neighborhoods, but also have assigned official rates per census tract to each of our respondents, thus permitting more fine-grained analyses.

Data on the quality of business strips and residential blocks were collected by our research team. Each was a major undertaking, but was well worth the effort.

The Shopping Strip Quality Rating Instrument and code sheet are included in Appendix B. This instrument was used to collect data on the stores along the more than 100 miles of shopping strips in our eight neighborhoods. Codes were assigned to each store to enable us to analyze shopping strip characteristics at the item level, the block level, the shopping strip level, and the neighborhood level.

The Housing and Neighborhood Appearance Rating Instrument key, coding specifications, and code sheet are included in Appendix C. The development of this instrument was one of our most challenging tasks—the construction of an instrument which was not culturally- or class-biased and which could be completed quickly and economically was a formidable undertaking. Our review of the literature on measuring housing deterioration and an interview with a contractor-developer led us to conclude that we could not measure absolute levels of physical decay of buildings by rating only the outsides of them. What we have measured, then, is the appearance of building deterioration and neglect of property. Comparisons of these data with our respondents' reports

of neighborhood problems have been most illuminating.

The instrument was used to rate more than 700 blocks, a 25 percent random sample of those blocks in each of our neighborhoods on which our respondents resided. To assure adequate geographical coverage, they were sampled from the census tract.

The data were initially coded at the item level, and subsequently aggregated to the block level and linked with the respondent file. Thus, for 25 percent of our survey respondents, we know the percentage of items that were scored as flawed of all those for which rating was possible. We also have the percentage of flaws for the neighborhood as a whole.

In addition to these supplementary data, we collected and utilized a wealth of other information over the course of the study. We traveled around the communities; interviewed local newspaper editors, community organization leaders, and businessmen; and chatted with other knowledgeable informants. We attended community events ranging from Open House Tours to block club meetings. Finally, we made use of various historical materials. All of these endeavors served to deepen and enrich our understanding of our neighborhoods.

THE NEIGHBORHOODS

Because social units have their own distinctive environments and attributes, the sum of the individuals in them is not always an accurate reflection of the whole. Consequently, social scientists have found the relating of individual-level data to larger social units, of which the individuals are a part, to be problematic. The issue is particularly salient in survey data analysis because often the researcher is pushed into social psychological explanations for outcomes which are more comprehensible when the context in which the individuals are rooted is adequately understood.

Social scientists use several strategies to try to deal with the problem. The most common is to assign to each individual respondent a generalized version of contextual attributes which are presumably related to something significant about their daily environment and, consequently, their experience. For example, respondents may be categorized as urban, suburban, or rural. In this instance, the attribute "urbanness" is attached to individuals and presumed to make a difference in the kinds of daily experiences that they have because of the crowding, segmentary relationships, and impersonality alleged to be characteristic of urban living.

One problem, however, with global categories such as "urban" or "rural" is that they mask a great deal of variation within them. As Gans (1970) points out in his famous critique of Wirth's hypothesis concerning urban life, urban dwellers can live in a variety of situations ranging from central city high-rises to low density single-family housing near the suburban border. When a researcher such as Fischer (1976), for example,

tests the Wirth hypothesis by examining the impact of "urbanness" on feelings
of powerlessness, he is masking two effects. The first is the variation
within cities referred to by Gans; the second is differences between cities
taken as a whole. Are the similarities between living in Cleveland and
Wichita, for example, more important than the differences? And how do both
of them compare to the very high density situations (of which, alas, there
are never enough for statistical analysis) such as Manhattan in New York and
the lakefront in Chicago?

Although this global approach is sometimes justified—for many
matters, there are urban/non-urban differences—it is not sensitive to the
fact that there is real structural variation in the settings in which people
live, and one must know something about that structural variation at a fairly
detailed level if one is to understand why they perceive as they do.

A second approach to the problem has evolved through the literature
on contextual or multi-level analysis (Przeworski and Teune, 1970; Boyd and
Iversen, 1979). That literature assumes that membership per se in social
groups will influence perceptions and behaviors. The analytic strategy is,
thus, to add up the responses of the individuals in a particular group in
order to produce a characterization of the group as a whole which then functions
as an independent variable itself. For example, one might be interested in
the effect of high versus low group achievement aspirations on individual
aspiration levels. The procedure then is to compare individuals in each
group to learn the extent to which their aspiration levels vary from what one
would predict using other measures. In this case, people would aspire to
higher levels than one would predict using individual-level variables in the
high aspirant group and to lower levels than one would predict in the low
aspirant group.

There has been controversy surrounding the methods one uses to
measure contextual effects. Critics have, in some cases, argued that these
findings are statistically artifactual (Hauser, 1970), and, in others, that
unexplained variance can not legitimately be identified as "context". How-
ever, if misspecification is avoided by carefully defining the context under
study, the technique is a useful one for some purposes. We, ourselves, use
this type of approach subsequently. But the problem is that there are other
socially meaningful dimensions which can only be determined outside the
survey data being collected. One can learn from survey data how people
perceive matters or how they respond to particular stimuli, but without
adequate knowledge of what the stimuli in fact are, their perceptions and
responses are not very illuminating.

An example from our subsequent analysis illustrates this point
graphically. Much of our analysis turns on the perception of racial stability
in the respondent's community. But one cannot know whether those communities
are in fact stable, either by looking at the respondent's perceptions or by
knowing a few gross facts about the communities. Both Hyde Park/Kenwood and
Beverly have substantial black populations and lie directly in the path of
black expansion—indeed, it might be said that the path in some measure passed
directly over Hyde Park/Kenwood—and yet most respondents report that both
communities are racially stable. This perception is held directly counter to
what perceptions would be in 99 out of 100 similar settings. Respondents,
however, are not dreaming. The stability has been won through the investment
activities of key actors in each sector as well as through a range of other
strategies. The key actors were not ordinary residents. Universities,
hospitals, and commercial interests all played important and pivotal roles.
Without their participation, it is not likely that stability would have been
achieved—no matter what everybody else thought or perceived. The result is

that not only are the communities stable and perceived to be stable, but the residents of those communities are rather more sanguine about the consequences of integrated residential housing than, in some sense, the facts at the national level would warrant.

The above addresses problems related to the understanding of social processes. When one is also concerned about social policy, the argument takes on even more weight. People perceive what they do in these instances because of the actions of the key institutional actors--actors who do not turn up in statistically measurable numbers in standard cross-sectional surveys. To learn how to create the state of affairs which results in perceptions which in turn lead to the maintenance of neighborhood quality, one must know what those institutional actors who succeeded did. The only way one can do so is to record through detailed historic and ethnographic information the relevant processes. The perceptions of our respondents are important. How those perceptions work to influence patterns of investment and decisions to move or not to move are important too. But to see those perceptions without under-standing the way in which they are embedded in the responses of other actors to threatened changes is both to miss the point and to lose the opportunity to find levers for change.

Consequently, we intend in the following chapters to spend more time discussing the nature of these communities than is commonly done in such reports. This is done not simply to provide a backdrop for the data analysis. Instead, it is to provide the structural setting in which our respondents perceive, believe and act. For both the social theorist and the policy maker, this process is essential.

CHAPTER 3

BEVERLY

The four communities selected because they had low crime rates (although Back of the Yards became an ambiguous case during the course of our study) are all regions with single family houses as the primary housing type. Portage Park, East Side and the whites in Back of the Yards display similar patterns of ethnicity, length of residence, and age. All are predominantly Roman Catholic. Beverly, the community to which we now turn, stands in sharp physical contrast to those three--much of its housing is larger and more elegant, its housing lots are larger, and some of its streets are winding rather than displaying the standard Chicago grid pattern. In fact, the literature which promotes Beverly calls it a "Village in the City." Since it has no industry of its own, "Suburb in the City" might be a more accurate characterization. Traveling over its placid, tree-lined residential streets, one does have the feeling of being in one of the city's more prosperous older suburbs.

What is not obvious to a newcomer, however, is that that placidity represents a hard won achievement. Its character is not simply the result of natural social forces at work, but rather the consequence of substantial intervention by residents and commercial interests. This is not unique to Beverly. With only one exception, all of our successful communities--i.e., those in which housing stock is well-maintained, there is little or no abandonment, and there is enough market demand for housing--are communities in which rather substantial intervention has been required to prevent deterioration. Beverly, however, is a particularly good place to begin because appearances give so little clue to the historically precarious position of the community.

Although the Beverly area began its life as a farming community in the second third of the nineteenth century, it was well established as a residential community by the end of that century. Both the Rock Island Railroad and what became the Pennsylvania Railroad ran through the area, making housing necessary for railroad workers and making commuting to the city possible for the more prosperous. By the turn of the century, much of the area had been annexed to Chicago, and its distinctive topography had begun to help shape its character.

The ridge area (the Hill of Beverly Hills—see map) became the home of the wealthy businessmen of Yankee stock. It overlooked the flatland areas around the railroad where both the railroad workers and white-collar workers resided. Seeking a clear identity for the area, local businessmen in 1917 petitioned the Rock Island Railroad to change the names of all the stations in the area to Beverly Hills. During the 1920s, Beverly underwent a building boom with the pattern and diversity of housing stock already set in motion being continued. The ridge area and the area nearby continued to have the more elaborate housing, whereas the other areas gained more modest types. Extensive construction after the Second World War was also mostly of the smaller houses.

In the 1920s and 30s, the Beverly population was largely Prot-estant and of the business classes. Even though its population today is largely Roman Catholic (62 percent), the large number of imposing Protestant churches in the community still stand as evidence for that earlier period. (It should be noted that the change from Protestant to Catholic was a classical example of succession. Nor was it without conflict.)

BEVERLY

N

ASHBURN
AUBURN Gresham
Washington Hgts.
Evergreen Plaza
BEVERLY
Mount Green-Wood
Morgan Park
(Morgan Park High School)

RIDGE AREA

RIDGE COUNTRY CLUB
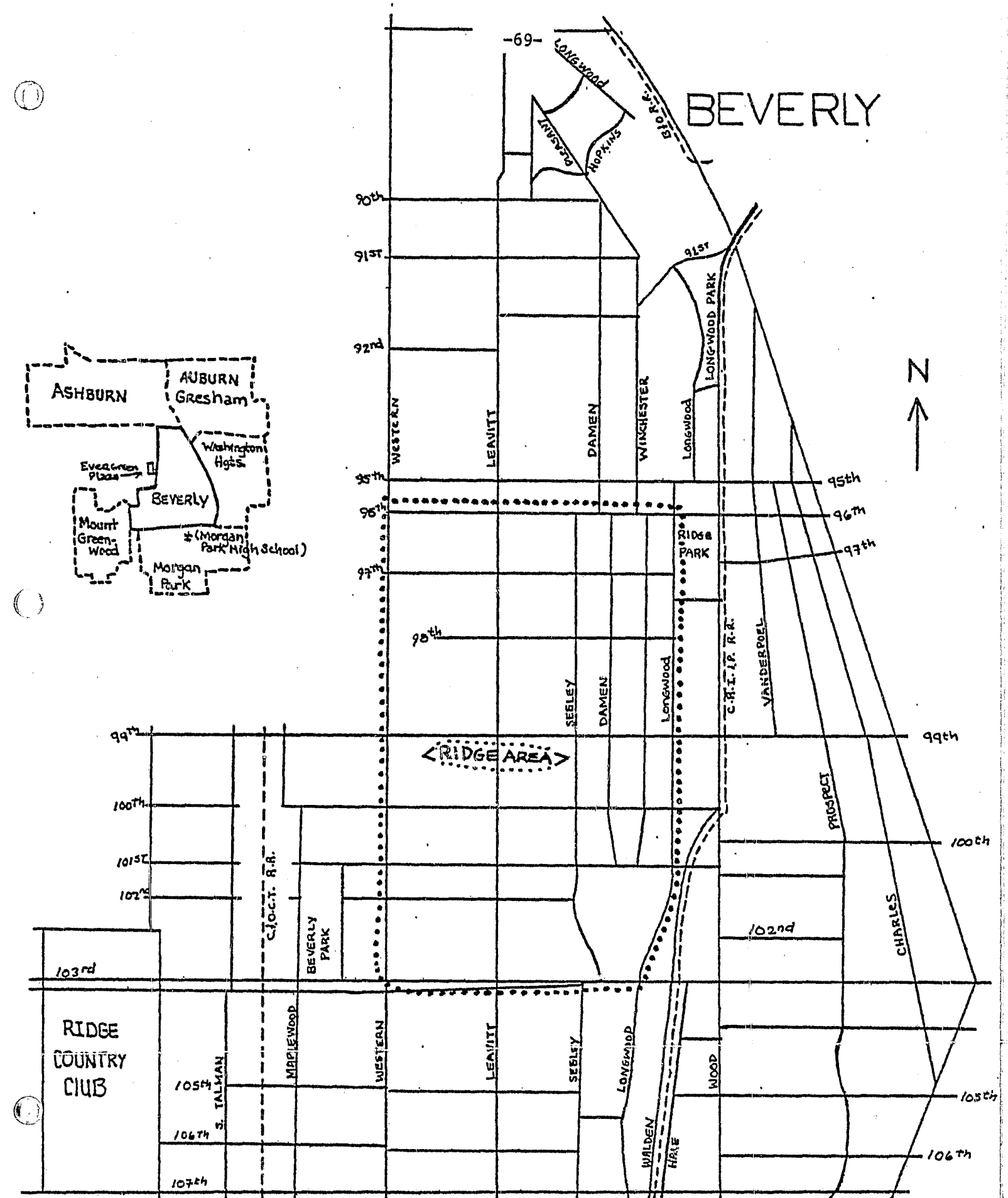
Today, Beverly is predominantly Irish. More than a third of our respondents identify themselves as such; the next largest ethnic identification is Polish at 3.7 percent. Beverly is also politically well-connected with both important political figures and important government workers making it their home. In fact, along with Jefferson Park in the northwestern corner of the city, it is the area with the largest number of middle to upper level government employees in Chicago--almost 25 percent of our respondents fit into that category.

With its broad streets and attractive single family houses, Beverly has managed to maintain a distinctive suburban character. The demographics confirm what the appearance suggests. More than 80 percent of its residents are homeowners, and it contains the largest proportion of two adult households with children below the age of nineteen (42.5 percent) of any of our communities. More than half the men in the community and almost half the women have some college education with 21 percent of the men and 13 percent of the women reporting education beyond the bachelor's degree. It is not as highly educated as Hyde Park/Kenwood and Lincoln Park, but its educational levels well exceed the city average.

Given the area's low crime rates, it is not surprising that Beverly residents report that they are not very worried about crime. With 87 percent expressing satisfaction with the safety of the neighborhood, they rank first on that dimension. Nor do they express fear in other ways. Almost no one (3.5 percent) says that there is a lot of crime in the area. And with only 15 percent reporting that they think there is a moderate or high likelihood that they will be a victim of a crime, they are lower than respondents in any of the other communities.

Similarly, Beverly residents do not communicate that they face some of the other slings and arrows of urban life. We asked respondents to tell us whether each of the following items was a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem at all in their neighborhood:

a) Noisy neighbors; people who play loud music, have late parties, or have noisy quarrels

b) Dogs barking loudly or relieving themselves near your home

c) People not disposing of garbage properly or leaving litter around the area

d) Poor maintenance of property and lawns

e) People who say insulting things or bother people as they walk down the street

f) Landlords who don't care about what happens to the neighborhood

g) Purse snatching and other street crimes

h) Presence of drugs and drug users

i) Abandoned houses or other empty buildings

j) Vacant lots filled with trash and junk

To determine how the neighborhoods compared with each other overall in terms of the perceived severity of these problems, we derived a composite measure by first ranking the neighborhoods on each individual item according to the percentage reporting that item to be a big or somewhat of a problem. We then summed these ranks across the ten items for each neighborhood. These sums, ranging theoretically from 10 to 80, were used as the basis for a second ranking. This final ranking indicates the neighborhood's overall position across all the items.

Beverly ranks seventh on the neighborhood problem measure, with only Portage Park reporting fewer serious problems in the aggregate. Two of the items, however, have less likelihood of occurring in Beverly by the very nature of the place--the large lot sizes would minimize

the problems of noisy neighbors, and the relative lack of multiple-family
dwellings decreases the probability of undermaintenance by landlords
being a problem. Nevertheless, even with these two items removed from
the scale, Beverly retains its seventh place ranking.

In addition, there is evidence that Beverly is a cohesive
community. Only East Side and Hyde Park/Kenwood have a higher propor-
tion of respondents reporting that they have good friends living in
the community (although Lincoln Park reports the same percentage).
Although Beverly respondents do not spend as much social time with their
neighbors as those in three other communities do, they are more willing
to rely on their neighbors. The proportion expressing agreement on
the items about neighboring is quite high in all the neighborhoods (see
Table 3.1), but Beverly is the highest on all three. Ninety-four percent
report that their neighbors would help them if they were sick, and
virtually all report that they can count on their neighbors to keep
watch on their houses.

Finally, they report high overall satisfaction with their
community; 94 percent, second only to Portage Park, fall into that
category.

Looking at Beverly today, it is hard to imagine that it has
been a community on the edge of panic; that fear of racial change and
fear of crime have often been high, and that the sense of stability
and prosperity that Beverly exudes has not been achieved without extra-
ordinary effort on the part of its citizens. But there are clues.
In the period 1968-72, property values declined by about 2 percent a
year there, while increasing elsewhere. Beverly residents became
alarmed when a local scholar who publishes ranks of communities based

TABLE 3.1

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS ANSWERING THAT THEY CAN COUNT ON THEIR NEIGHBORS TO:

	Run errands while respondent is sick	Watch house while respondent is away	Loan respondent $25 in case of emergency
Austin	72.5	81.9	70.0
Back of the Yards	72.7	85.3	73.6
Beverly	94.3	98.0	91.6
East Side	87.8	97.0	88.0
Hyde Park/Kenwood	75.7	83.6	73.4
Lincoln Park	70.0	79.6	70.6
Portage Park	83.4	93.3	85.3
South Shore	71.6	82.8	66.7

on the income of their residents reduced Beverly from number two to
number six (Hoffman, 1976). Its property appreciation since then has
not been as high as one would expect from its appearance, and its major
shopping strip, 95th Street, has a vacancy rate of more than 10 percent.
An astonishing 31 percent of Beverly respondents report that they belong
to groups "concerned with the quality of community life," a proportion
higher than one would expect if all were well and higher than in any
of our other neighborhoods (see Table 3.2). Beverly residents display
an awareness of community anti-crime activity equalled only by Hyde
Park/Kenwood, which is a high crime neighborhood.

TABLE 3.2

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING
THAT THEY BELONG TO AN
ORGANIZATION CONCERNED
WITH THE QUALITY OF
COMMUNITY LIFE

Austin	18.8
Back of the Yards	9.1
Beverly	31.3
East Side	20.3
Hyde Park/Kenwood	20.9
Lincoln Park	15.7
Portage Park	11.9
South Shore	17.8

Beverly does lie directly in the path of south side black ex-
pansion, and a major source of worry for the community for much of the
period beginning in the 1950s has been concern about what the future
would bring. Although Beverly is today a racially integrated area,
with black residents representing about 14 percent of its population
and residing mostly in the smaller houses near the eastern edge of the
community, this outcome was less than peaceful. Although, or perhaps
because, Beverly was the next "natural" community for blacks to move
into from the east and from the north, they have not been well received.
Their initial arrival met with panic, and subsequently, their houses
have been vandalized and their children beaten up. Newspapers still
regularly report stories of fire-bombings, and black Beverly respondents

volunteered similar information. Three murders of white youths by blacks
during the past seven years indicate how severe racial tensions have been.

Most Beverly residents disapprove of these extremist behaviors.
They have, however, expended much effort to deal with the threat of
neighborhood decline. In the early 1960s, they fought the development
of the city's first in-city shopping center at the edge of their neighbor-
hood, for fear that such an enterprise would attract "undesirables"
to the area. The center was constructed (see map). Its clientele (much
like the clientele on the area's major shopping strip) is presently
almost all black. Apparently, very few of Beverly's residents shop
there. A survey of that center's customers conducted by the Chicago
Sun Times (1977) confirms that observation. Although the study's statis-
tical profile of shoppers did not include race, the median family income
(less than $5,000 in 1975) and the percentage of renters are quite dissimilar
to statistics for the Beverly neighborhood.

In the late 1960s, Beverly residents constructed the Beverly
Art Center, a theatre and art museum. The ridge was designated a historical
district in the 1970s. But the major expression of Beverly area concern
is the Beverly Area Planning Association (BAPA).[1] Although it has been
around since 1947, it was revitalized in 1971, when it became galvanized
to deal with falling property values and the panoply of concerns associated
with racial change. From an annual budget of approximately 13,000 dollars,
it moved to one well in excess of 100,000 and began an aggressive multi-
pronged program to "protect" the area.

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[1] BAPA is the lead organization among many, including Beverly
Improvement Association, West Beverly Homeowners, Beverly Woods' Kennedy
Park, Beverly Ridge Homeowners, East Beverly Association, Ridge Hills
Civic Association, and Vanderpoel Improvement Association.

Efforts by BAPA included an all-out attack on realtors who practiced "panic peddling." By persuasion and harassment (phone lines tied up continually by residents calling with non-descript questions), realtors were discouraged from that practice as well as the practice of racial steering. An information "hot line" was established to quell gossip about crimes and panic selling.

Residents continue to be anxious about real estate practices. When the city of Chicago ordinance banning "For Sale" signs was ruled unconstitutional in 1979, Beverly residents met to see how they could still keep the signs off their lawns. A 1980 wave of "cold-calling" by real estate agents--calling people one does not know and asking them if they want to sell--has residents alarmed that panic peddling has returned.

A public effort was made to maintain the quality of city services. The close ties of residents to city government was exploited both in practice and as a public relations device in this regard.

In addition, a great deal of effort was put into promoting Beverly housing. Beverly House Tours were established to attract people to the area and to show them the range of gracious living possible in the Beverly setting. The tours emphasize life style quality rather than the architecture of the buildings. Included on these tours is a great deal of talk about the cohesion which characterizes the area.

With the same intent, a twenty-two page, handsomely produced brochure with little write-ups of typical families and their houses was printed. These are mailed to people from lists provided by large organizations who employ many white-collar workers. As a faculty member of the University of Chicago, one of us received such a brochure in

1976, with a cover letter from the president of BAPA along with a guarantee of mortgage money despite "accusations of redlining." Beverly area residents have also passed out brochures at commuter railroad stations urging people to sample the neighborhood's charms.

In short, a massive part of the effort of BAPA and Beverly area residents has been devoted to shoring up a potentially sagging real estate market. That market did, in fact, in 1976 receive support from a surprising quarter. At that time, the late Mayor Richard Daley announced that city employees would be required henceforth to live in the city. Beverly, being the sort of neighborhood in which city employees already lived, was an attractive option, and, because of increased demand, property values jumped shortly after that announcement. We should note, however, that Beverly has shown the least appreciation of our three high-appreciation neighborhoods. At 113 percent in unadjusted dollars for the period 1973-1978, it stands below Hyde Park/Kenwood (124 percent) and well below Lincoln Park (366 percent).

Efforts were also made to bolster the area's declining shopping strips. A plan was generated to make Beverly a self-taxing area, the funds raised thereby to be utilized for commercial revitalization. The program was never established. However, BAPA has run special promotional programs to encourage people to buy locally, and in 1978, a local development corporation was established to help funnel Small Business Administration funds into the area.

The relationship of neighborhoods to their shopping areas is a complex one. Shopping areas or strips often function the way main streets do in small towns. Not only are they places where people come together, but they also represent the area itself. A deteriorating

shopping strip signals to people that the entire area is deteriorating, even if initially this is not the case. Consequently, neighborhood groups such as BAPA expend a great deal of effort trying to maintain shopping strips.

Shopping strips may be declining everywhere--they are in some respects an outmoded form. Their parking facilities are often inadequate, and the stores themselves are often too small to carry the range and variety of goods modern shoppers require. Also, because of the lower volume of sales, the store owners may have to charge higher prices than the large stores downtown or in shopping centers.

Where racial change accompanies decline, however, the problem becomes more complicated. Most Chicago neighborhoods which have undergone racial transition have subsequently deteriorated; and urban residents, both white and black, perceive this fact. Consequently, as racial change takes place, residents come to expect decline. Objective evidence which supports this interpretation of reality is played up in people's minds. Thus, in such circumstances, the decline of a strip is simply taken as further evidence of deterioration, discouraging both shoppers and merchants as well as potential housing purchasers.

An economic theory of shopping strips would suggest that as business falls off, property owners would be forced either to let their stores stand vacant or to rent them to those who will use them in ways which are less desirable than would be the case if there were still real demand. In addition, they will have less money to spend on maintenance. In many of our deteriorating strips, this pattern shows up dramatically. Vacancy rates not only correlate with our measures of deterioration, but they also correlate with what might be called second-class uses of the stores. In these instances, first-class retail uses such as clothing stores, hardware stores, and furniture stores give way to second-class uses, ranging from wig shops and lowly-capitalized trinket shops to fortune tellers.

Beverly's main shopping strip shows the difference that adequate capital makes in the face of decline. To begin with, many of the shops were modernized or rebuilt, both to appear larger and to provide additional parking. More importantly, the owners of these properties are among the largest property owners in the city. Consequently, they have been able to weather long periods of high vacancy. The vacancy rate along 95th Street is both high and of unusually long standing, yet the stores have not been rented out for second-class uses. The investors who control the properties are closely allied to the investors who own the neighboring shopping center. The blight that second-class use would lead to might discourage use of the center. BAPA, as we have indicated, has worked closely with these investors to attract new businesses.

In addition, adequate capital has made it possible to maintain vacant stores in attractive condition for long periods of time. In fact, Beverly is the only area where vacancy does not correlate with our other measures of deterioration. We will come back to this theme subsequently. Adequate levels of capital flow can help a community to weather momentary set-backs caused by crime and fear of racial transition so that, ultimately, neither the fear nor the presence of other races is a source of avoidance. In the Beverly case, unusually high capital support is available.

A third major focus of BAPA activity has been the control and prevention of crime. Racial change and fear of crime are linked in people's minds in Beverly, although identification of that pattern is not always easy. As a well-educated group committed to promoting itself and to not appearing to harbor racial fears, respondents show themselves low on items concerning prejudice and fear. Nonetheless, Beverly residents

do report in disproportionate numbers that there is an area within a mile of their homes where they are afraid to walk at night. Given the fact that Beverly residents stay off the major shopping strip which is largely black and the local shopping center which is also largely black, we suspect that the area within a mile to which they are referring is the area to the east and to the north which is largely black. Additionally, the perception that there is a crime problem is correlated (gamma = .29) with the belief that "When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, crime rates usually go up." Finally, although residents cite many reasons to explain the low rates of crime in Beverly—a high class of people live there, many police live there, the area is well-patrolled—some respondents informed us that Beverly has little crime because blacks have been kept out.

Feelings concerning this relationship seep through in the local newspapers and in reports of the Beverly Area Planning Association. As a BAPA newsletter reported in 1976: "Sorry to disappoint the prophets of gloom, but it was a long hot summer only if you looked at the thermometer. In every other way, things were cool around Beverly Hills: the housing market grew stronger; kids behaved themselves; and block parties made friends out of neighbors."

To combat crime, BAPA has worked closely with both the youth in the area (who are seen as the source of the crime problem) and the police department. In addition to encouraging heavy patrolling, BAPA has worked with youth workers to keep youngsters busy, developed summer programs for youth, and given awards to police officers for distinguished service. In 1980, for example, BAPA cited the local police commander whose district had the largest crime reduction in the city.

During the summer, the police department assigns "salt and pepper" police teams to patrol parks and other areas where youth spend their time. They try to head off threatening situations that develop and help victims who think the crimes they have been involved in are racial. The major crime problems they report are vandalism and fights. And they report that many of the problems they deal with are intra- rather than inter-racial (Beverly Review, June 18, 1980).

The Beverly Area Planning Association's official position is that it favors integration and opposes discrimination. In the language of specialists in this particular area, the organization is fighting "resegregation." Its booklet designed to encourage families to move there includes one model black family among its nine vignettes, and it has worked diligently to discourage real estate agents from pursuing their customary practices of making profits by accelerating rates of change.

Although that is BAPA's official position, knowledgeable observers suggest that during some its life, BAPA has made efforts to keep blacks out of the area. This is always difficult to assess, because the line between preventing panic peddling and resegregation on the one hand, and black exclusion on the other is often difficult to maintain. This is not to suggest that BAPA has ever encouraged the sorts of lawless behavior which lead to fire bombings and the like. BAPA has worked with the police to discourage such behavior, has supported the efforts of youth workers who have attempted to put a stop to it, and has offered rewards for information leading to the arrest of vandals. However, BAPA closed up a record store where youth were congregating because officials feared it looked unsavory. Youth workers associated with

BAPA objected to this, arguing that there was no evidence the store was, in fact, a problem. Similarly, in a kind of urban redevelopment effort, the area around one of the schools which had a large black population was razed to make way for playing fields. In this instance, some observers saw this as a way to discourage black youth from just hanging around.

BAPA and Beverly area youth programs are an important focus of activity. BAPA funds, among others, a youth program in the area's Morgan Park High School. This school itself figures heavily in the BAPA integration strategy. The Board of Education was persuaded in 1975 to maintain the school in a 50-50 black-white ratio, despite the fact that much of the area around it was changing. Although the program has come under attack from some black leaders, it has been maintained. Similarly, the area around the school was torn down to create a more campus-like atmosphere, making the school more attractive, at least in theory, to white families. Beverly residents do have other options available to them. The private Morgan Park Academy and the parochial Brother Rice are both known for their high standards.

All of these efforts point to a community which refused to allow falling property values and subsequent deterioration to gain a foothold. Largely through the energies of residents working in groups such as BAPA, Beverly continues to be a stable, residential community. Addressing themselves to a wide range of threatening community problems, the residents of Beverly have reinforced the community on many fronts, of which crime reduction is only one. This stance is paralleled in East Side, a community in other ways quite different from Beverly.

CHAPTER 4

EAST SIDE

Although Beverly and East Side are both located in the outer rings of the city and are both low in crime, they are quite dissimilar in other respects. East Side is largely a working class, ethnic community in which most of the residents have a high school education or less. It is ironic that Beverly bills itself as a village in the city. For with its sophisticated, white collar residents who do not work in or near the community, it is not a village at all, but rather a suburb. By contrast, East Side has many of the attributes of a central European village—although, if that were pointed out to its residents, they would probably be offended.

The growth of East Side as a residential area coincided with its growth as an industrial area. The region of which it is a part is a natural port area, and that attribute, coupled with the location of a rail line which was to become the New York Central, made it attractive for the production of steel. The opening of the Silicon Steel Company's rolling mills in the early 1870s heralded the beginning of the industrial era.

Improvements in the harbor and river a decade later, along with the construction of a number of rail lines, led to the further growth of the steel industry in that region. By the 1920s, the Calumet region, of which East Side is but a small segment, had become a national industrial giant. From Gary, Indiana on the east to the United States Steel South Works just north and west of East Side, the shore came to be dominated by the steel and, to a somewhat lesser extent, petroleum industries.

In addition to United States Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Wisconsin Steel,
and Republic Steel all have large plants there. Republic Steel's plant
is located in East Side itself, and the neighborhood has seen the growth
of many allied industries as well.

The interstate region has an integrity all its own. Workers
live and work on both sides of the state line--United States Steel
Workers District 31 includes all the steel workers in the region--and
the name Illiana (Illinois plus Indiana) is a common one for stores
and clubs even in East Side.

The first residences in East Side were located at the northern
edge of the community to be near the first steel plant, and new residential
contruction has moved east and south since. The construction of Calumet
Park (see map) on land fill in the 1920s encouraged the eastward movement
of the community. The park's 194 acres with numerous athletic fields,
a beach and bath house, a bandstand and winding roads has since become
the community's front yard and symbolic center. The annual Labor Day
parade, an important event in the neighborhood, comes to a culmination
in front of the bandstand where Miss East Side is selected. The community's
teams play each other there; lovers stroll or, more likely, drive their
cars in the evening on its roads; children climb on its swings; and
old folks sit on its benches. When residents are asked about East Side,
they often spontaneously mention the park as one of the area's virtues.

106th Street is an important boundary line in the community.
South of it is the area of second settlement; newer houses, now of brick
instead of wooden and asphalt shingled siding, have been constructed.
East Siders who move up may choose to move there; others move to nearby
suburban locations. There is yet a third area of newer construction

EAST SIDE

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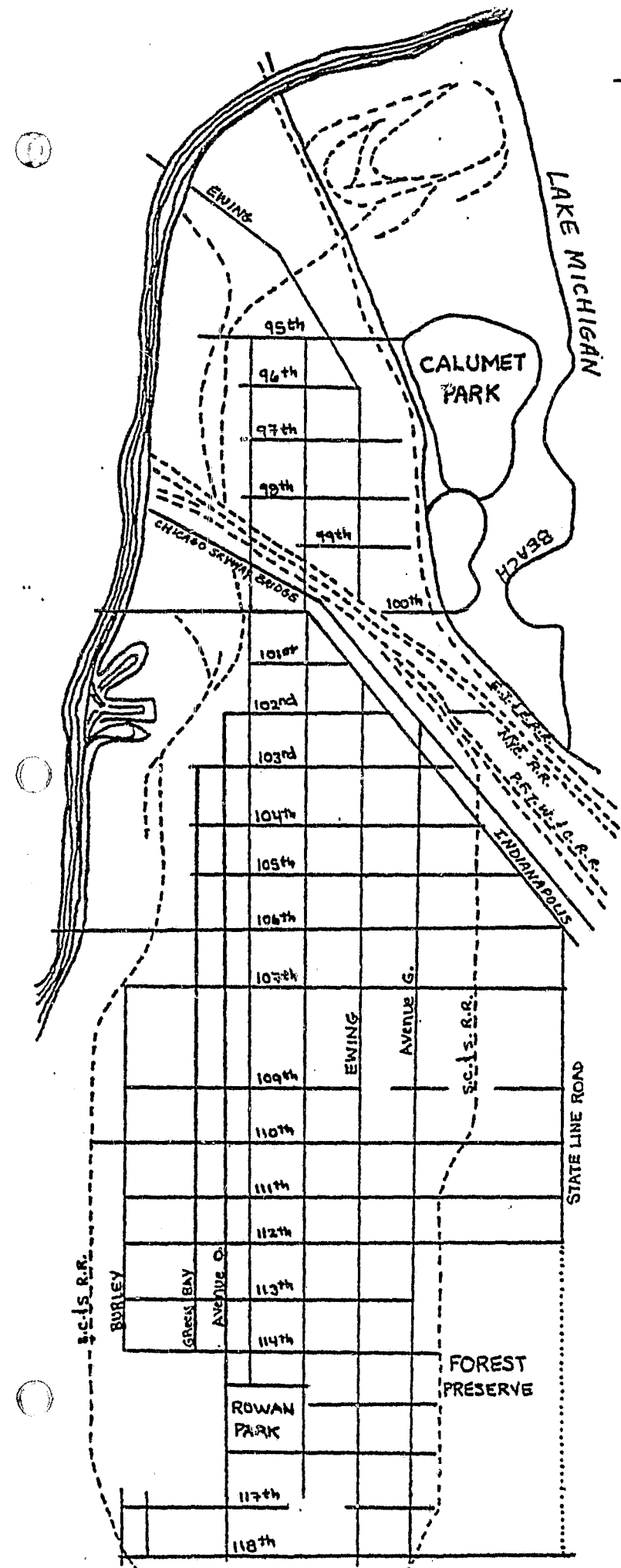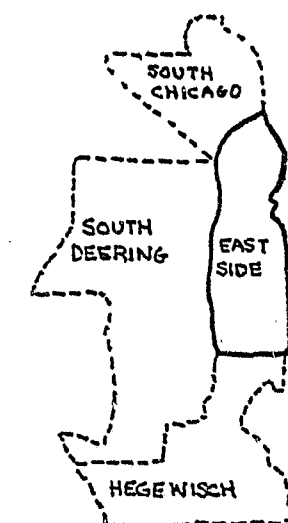
further south. The houses, for the most part, continue to be modest in size and crammed close together on small lots.[1] The southern-most segment is still undergoing construction, many of its streets newly begun or not yet paved.

What makes East Side truly distinctive is its sense of isolation from the rest of the city of Chicago. Physically, it is tucked away, between the miles of steel mill to the west, and the lakefront to the east. Bounded as well on the north and west by the Calumet River, it can be reached from elsewhere in Chicago only by crossing one of its drawbridges. Residents themselves like to say that when the drawbridges are up, East Side is an inaccessible island. Actually, it is only inaccessible from the rest of Chicago. It abuts Indiana in its southeastern corner and another very similar community, Hegewisch, directly to the south. It is also the only area of the city where the north-south streets have letters instead of names.

Except directly to conduct their business, there is little reason for outsiders to pass through East Side either. In fact, most of East Side lies in the shadow of the Chicago Skyway which speeds travelers on their way from Chicago to Indiana. When we were conducting this study, residents of our other seven communities, even those in nearby South Shore, often refused to believe that such a community even existed ("East side of what?" they would ask).

[1]The only substantially different house, both larger and on a larger lot than its neighbors, belongs to the southeast side's famous alderman and political boss. His house is the only one with either a swimming pool or tennis court, and it flaunts a kind of opulence almost foreign to the entire neighborhood. As is not uncommon with Chicago aldermen, he has become a man of great wealth, which some have alleged is partly related to the fact that he is Chairman of the city's powerful Zoning Committee.

Set apart, somewhat grimy because of the air pollution which characterizes the entire region, East Side comes close to being the ideal-typical community which has been the subject of much sociological thinking from Durkheim to the present.

Unlike the transience which seems to typify much of modern American urban life, East Side is characterized by residential stability. According to our survey, 25 percent of its residents have lived there all their lives (Back of the Yards follows with 19 percent; Beverly and Portage Park come next with 7.5 percent each). Median length of residence for the remainder is 22 years (among our neighborhoods most comparable on this dimension, the Portage Park median is 12 years, followed by Beverly and Back of the Yards with nine and ten, respectively). Similarly, fewer East Siders plan to move away in the next year than in any other community except Beverly, and, again next to Beverly, the largest proportion of respondents, 77 percent, consider their neighborhood home. It should be added that 75 percent of East Side residents own their own property (the majority of which, 70 percent, are single family houses).

Modern urban life is said to attenuate family ties because of mobility, but 75 percent of East Side respondents report that they have relatives living in the community, and more than half report that they visit their relatives at least once a week. Internal social life is buttressed by the fact that about one third of respondents also report that they visit neighbors once a week or more. They rank second only to Beverly in being able to count on their neighbors if they were sick (87.8 percent), to have their neighbors keep watch on their houses

(97 percent) and to borrow money from their neighbors in an emergency
(88 percent). This overall level of social interactional density is
said to be uncharacteristic of city life and is certainly not characteristic of any of our other seven communities.

Again, much of modern life, particularly in its urban manifestation, seems to be distinguished by the decline of the nuclear family
household. Sixty-eight percent of East Side respondents, however, still
live in one, and more than half of these include children under 19 years
of age. The majority of the one-headed households in the community
are the result of widowhood rather than either the break-up or the
postponement of marriage.

According to the classical theories, communities are strengthened
if the residents work together. Thirty-four percent of East Side respondents
work within the community and informants tell us that everybody in East
Side has at least one relative who works in the steel mills. Kornblum
(1974) reports on the way steel mill employment and union membership
combine to reinforce each other. In addition, although they are not
all of the same religion (65 percent, however, are Roman Catholic),
they pray in East Side as well. Eighty-seven percent of the 375 respondents
who report that they attend church say that they do so in the community.

What we have, then, is an unusual urban population. Property
owners who maintain strong extended family ties and who work, play and
pray together are not what one expects in the modern urban setting;
the multi-stranded, dense social relations found in East Side are alleged
to more accurately describe non-urban, non-industrial places.

CONTINUED

1 OF 4

We do not point this out because we wish to debunk or "disprove" theories concerning city life. Herbert Gans (1970) and others have demonstrated that urban neighborhoods can and do exhibit a wide range of patterns of social organization. The point here is that on a continuum from multi-stranded to single-stranded relationships, primary to secondary ties, and whole to limited liability, East Side is very close to one polar type.

As might be expected from the foregoing, East Side is still very much a working-class community. About one third of our male respondents report white-collar jobs whereas 55 percent are either craftsmen, operatives or laborers. The modal income category is $10,000-$20,000, representing 35.0 percent of all households (see Table 4.1).

TABLE 4.1

TOTAL FAMILY INCOME DURING 1978--EAST SIDE

(Percent)

Less than $10,000	26.7
$10,000 - $20,000	35.0
$20,000 - $30,000	27.8
$30,000 or more	10.4

The community also communicates an eastern European flavor, with people of Polish, Serbian, and Croatian origins predominating. But there are also substantial numbers of Italian, Irish, German, and Hispanic residents. The Hispanics are the newest arrivals, although there have been substantial Mexican communities in the larger steel-making region since the 1930s. The forty-two percent of East Side respondents who report that the neighborhood is changing no doubt have the Hispanics in mind since, at present, there are virtually no black families living there.

It would be a mistake, however, to overestimate the homogeneity of East Side. The Serbians and Croatians have had problems with each other, and the Serbian church itself experienced a schism, the traditionalists walking out to build a new church. As might be expected, fights have taken place between students of the Roman Catholic school and those of the public high school. Finally, there have been tensions between Hispanics and others. Most recently, a Hispanic gas station owner was harassed. On two occasions, his station was vandalized, the vandals expressing anti-Hispanic sentiments. He reports that these attacks are part of a repeated pattern of expressions of racist sentiment (Daily Calumet, August 15, 1979).

Despite these tensions, however, people of Hispanic background are more accepted than blacks are. According to one of our field workers, one of the uncertainties about Hispanics is the widely-held belief that they would be more willing to sell their houses to blacks than would the other residents.

For the Hispanics, the move to East Side, probably from neighboring South Chicago, is a move upward in the social scale. They are more satisfied with their community than any other identifiable group of residents in any community with fully 100 percent expressing overall satisfaction.

They are newcomers to the community with a median length of residence of 2.5 years. As would be expected of newcomers, they are substantially less likely to consider their new neighborhood home (38.7 percent), and they are somewhat less able to count on their neighbors. Slightly more than half believe that they could count on their neighbors if they were sick and 79.3 percent could borrow $25.00 from a neighbor.

They can, however, count on their neighbors to watch their houses (93
percent). They are also more positive about the immediate past and
the immediate future of the neighborhood. Only three percent thought
the neighborhood had declined in the last two years (compared to 17
percent for all East Side respondents), and about eleven percent expect
decline in the future (compared to 16.5 percent).

Hispanics are less likely than other East Siders to make use
of local facilities. On almost every such item, they score lower than
other East Side residents: shopping (66 to 79 percent); clothing (12.5
to 29 percent); restaurants (35.5 to 53.9 percent); car repairs (42.9
to 64.4 percent); banking (53.3 to 79.2 percent) and even church attendance
(48.3 to 86.7 percent). East Side's shopping facilities are particularly
paltry, and neighboring South Chicago with a wider range of shops is
just across the river. It is not surprising, therefore, that newcomers
would return to the familiar stores. It is almost more surprising that
so many East Siders make such use of local facilities, given how few
there are.

Overall, then, East Side is an ethnic, working-class community,
somewhat cut off from the rest of the city, and having both a strong
sense of community identity and strong social ties.

Like the atmosphere of East Side itself, however, two clouds
hang over the community. The first is generated by economic uncertainty.
The American steel industry at the time of this study was, as it has
been for many years, in a depressed condition. As one of the earlier
steel-producing regions in the United States, the Calumet area's local
plants have been left behind by forces both at home and abroad. In
addition, they are the region's major polluters. Some have been threatening

to close permanently if environmental quality protection laws are enforced
too stringently. Wisconsin Steel, one of the three major employers
in the area, filed for bankruptcy during the period of our study. The
others, caught in the 1979-80 recession, had laid off substantial numbers
of workers.

Those layoffs ramify widely through the community. Retail
business, according to some estimates, was off by 30 percent. People
worried about making payments on their houses. Tensions generated by
economic uncertainty can, according to informants, be felt--people are
uneasy, short tempered, and just worried.

The second cloud is expressed in a form of hostility to out-
siders, and is perhaps the obverse of the fact that the community is
such a tight one. Outsiders are always a problem for residents. A
local librarian reports that people still view him suspiciously because
he lives in a neighborhood five miles away and commutes to work. One
of our students, herself an outsider, was told that people were reluctant
to talk to her because they might get into trouble. And East Side is
the neighborhood in which the most residents agreed: "It's pretty easy
to tell a stranger from someone who lives in my immediate neighborhood"
(79 percent).

This anxiety is most concretely expressed in open hostility
toward blacks. Lacking the educational veneer of the Beverly residents,
East Siders speak out quite directly on this subject. Xenophobia in
general and hostility toward blacks in particular was illustrated
dramatically when one of us met with the East Side Civic Association
to discuss our study.

Because the study was funded by Washington, some residents viewed us as part of a federal plot "to make us take colored." Others saw us as emissaries of the newly elected mayor. In this view, we had been sent to punish the community for voting so heavily for her opponent. Ultimately, we were expected to recommend that public housing be built in the community so that "you'll make us take that element we don't want."

Residents at that meeting were able to construct conspiracy theories about us in the way that the angry and powerless often do. At that time, the mayor's chief advisor was a professor from another university. Since he was a professor, and we were professors, there must be a connection. Did we know him? What had he suggested to us? Similarly, one of our research assistants had the same (fairly common) last name as the mayor's campaign manager. What was their connection? In all, there was a rather heatedly-expressed consensus that we were anything but what we said we were, and that we were up to no good, and, whatever it was, it was probably connected to race.[1]

Almost every plan for new non-residential construction runs into tremendous community controversy for the same reason. At the time of the study, a group of community residents were fighting the construction of a small shopping mall on the grounds that it would bring undesirable outsiders into the community. In 1978, when a small A and P burned

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[1] Significantly, a few of the people at the meeting did telephone us subsequently to apologize for the behavior of the group as a whole. One of them was a young woman who was one of the few of her high school classmates to leave the community to attend college. She wanted us to know that people were very warm and friendly to each other, but that the outside world made them nervous. She hoped we would see their better side.

down, the owner of the site considered the construction of a McDonald's in its place. Residents protested on the same grounds. "They took me to court when I wanted to build the store and now they're complaining that its not there any more," the property's owner complained (Daily Calumet, December 12, 1979).

East Side residents tied for highest on our index of negative feelings toward blacks. They were, along with one racially changing neighborhood of older ethnic stock, most likely to believe that "when blacks move in, crime goes up" and "when blacks move in, property values go down." And, with the exception, ironically, of the communities with mostly black populations, they were the least likely to believe that the first blacks moving into a community are usually of the same economic level as the present residents.

As with our other mostly white, property-owning neighborhoods, East Side residents express low levels of fear of crime and report low levels of victimization. On self-reported victimization experience, East Siders rank lowest in personal crime and third lowest in property crime. Police report data paint a similar picture; on these measures, East Side is lowest in property crime and second lowest in personal crime.

Residents' perceptions of the crime situation are congruent with these rates. With 6.3 percent reporting that there is a lot of crime in the neighborhood, East Side ranks just ahead of Beverly and Portage Park. And very few residents (2.1 percent) think there is much chance that they will be a crime victim. Unlike Beverly, residents are not likely to perceive that there are neighborhood anti-crime programs. And they rank among the lowest in terms of both fear of crime and in the special efforts they take to avoid it.

There is one dramatic exception to this general evaluation. More East Siders report that they have a problem with drugs and drug use than the residents of any other community in our sample (see Table 4.2). This is the only problem area in which they are not in the bottom third of our communities. Informants tell us that there are lots of drugs in the steel mills; what we may have here is simply respondents with high standards worried about a reality.

TABLE 4.2

PERCENT REPORTING THAT THE PRESENCE OF DRUGS AND
DRUG USERS IS A BIG OR SOMEWHAT OF A PROBLEM IN
THE NEIGHBORHOOD—ALL NEIGHBORHOODS

Austin	43.9
Back of the Yards	43.1
Beverly	29.3
East Side	54.7
Hyde Park/Kenwood	26.7
Lincoln Park	25.9
Portage Park	27.0
South Shore	48.1

East Siders do display a sense of precariousness and worry about crime, despite the fact that they are confident that they do not yet have a crime problem. Residents worked to close a game arcade because it encouraged kids to hang out there. They also worked to close a particular bar where it seemed as if a disproportionate number of stabbings and other violent events took place.

In summary, what we see in East Side is a stable community, one which is low in crime and perceives itself to be safe, so far. But it is also a community which feels embattled and that intransigence is what keeps it from disaster. This concern is not simply xenophobia. There is some evidence of undermaintenance in the northern part of the community. More importantly, the high median age of the population coupled with low levels of appreciation leads us to believe that further deterioration is around the corner, as people are increasingly unable to recover maintenance money in the market. We should note that this deterioration is not yet accompanied by rising rates of crime.

CHAPTER 5

PORTAGE PARK

Like East Side, Portage Park is a low crime, mainly blue-collar community inhabited mostly by ethnic whites. They are set apart, however, by their differing levels of social cohesion. Whereas East Side is characterized by strong community identification, strong social ties, and a sense of hostility toward outsiders, Portage Park displays weak community identification, moderate to weak social ties, and a general sense of indifference to the outside world. Portage Park did not get its start as an industrial center, nor is its locale so isolated or clearly-bounded.

Located at the site of an old Indian portage between the Chicago and Des Plaines rivers, the community grew up around a well-known tavern which had become a popular stopping place for travelers. Like Beverly, it began as a residential community. Incorporated into the city in 1889 as part of the township of Jefferson, it grew slowly until street car lines reached it fifteen years later, when its first housing boom ensued (LCFB, p. 44). The park in Portage Park was constructed in 1915, its central feature then, as today, a large swimming pool (see map).

By 1924, the neighborhood was a fully established residential community. Later a small industrial area grew up on the community's eastern edge, but by 1924, the community's character was firmly established and seems to have changed little since that time.

Today Portage Park is mainly characterized by block after block of trim brick bungalows mostly built in the 1920s; each well cared for, and each lawn neatly cut and edged. Wives still stay home in Portage Park as compared to in our other communities; and after East Side, the

PORTAGE PARK
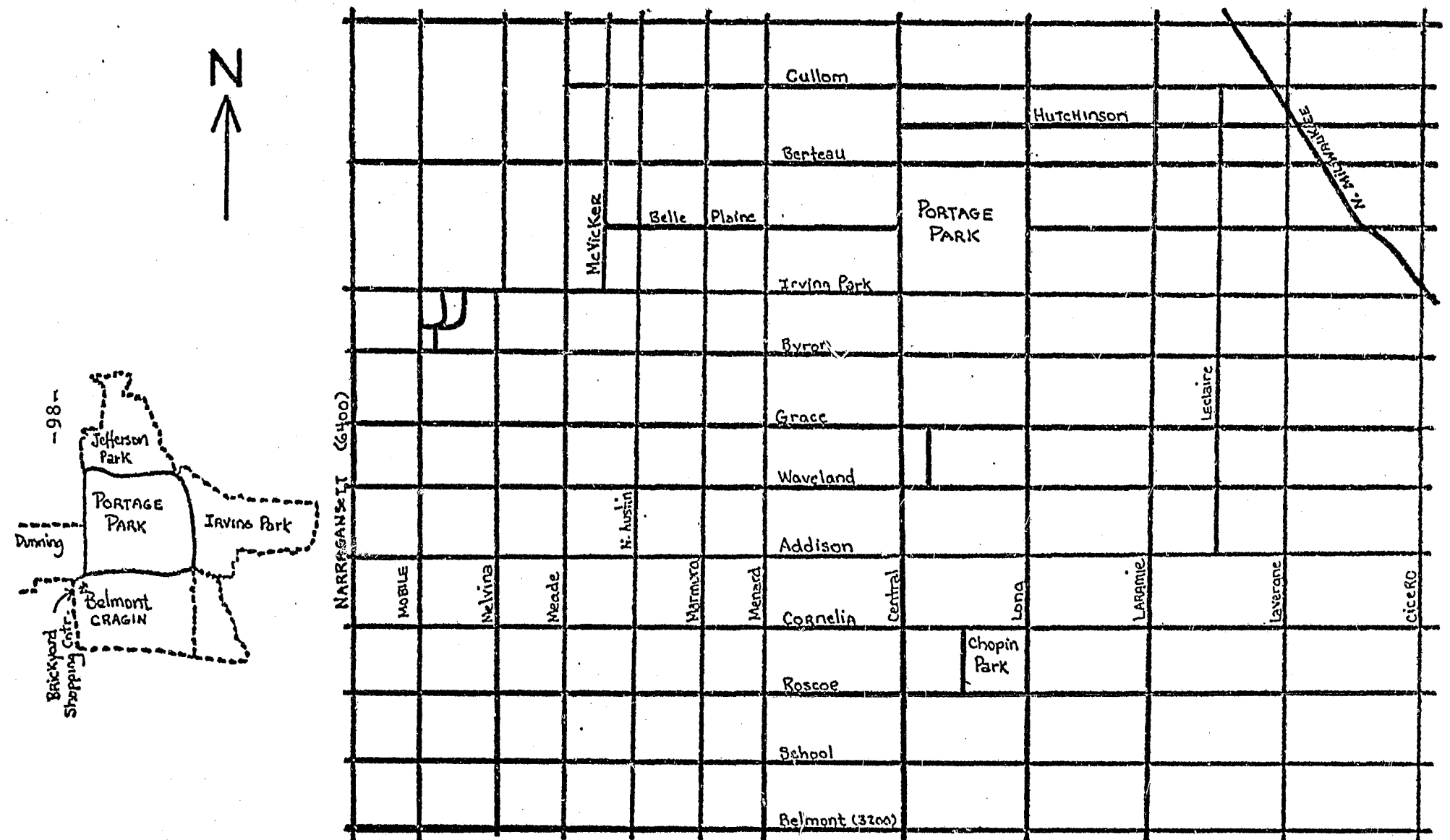
median age of Portage Park residents is highest. During the warmer
weather, it is not unusual during the week to find elderly women climbing
ladders to wash windows or to burn off paint from window frames; or
trimming lawns and hedges.

Compared to other communities, Portage Park is relatively permeable.
It has no clear boundary markers, and residents themselves are less
likely to identify their neighborhood by its 'official' community area
name than are the residents of other areas. More than 90 percent of
all Beverly and East Side respondents identified their neighborhoods
by the community area name or by one of the commonly used subarea names.
By contrast, about 70 percent of Portage Park residents did the same.
In addition, traveling through the area, one cannot tell where Portage
Park begins and the surrounding neighborhoods end.

Also indicative of the community's permeability are residents'
relatively weak social ties. With 34.9 percent of respondents reporting
that they have relatives in the neighborhood, Portage Park ranks below
East Side and Beverly as well as Austin, Back of the Yards, and South
Shore (see Table 5.1). The 67.9 percent who report that they have good
friends in the neighborhood is also a smaller proportion than in any
of the other communities (see Table 5.2). Portage Parkers also visit
with their neighbors less frequently than do respondents anywhere else
except in Austin.

Portage Park's lack of differentiation from the surrounding
world is illustrated in another way. Three local newspapers are published
on Chicago's northwest side. Each of them follows the procedure of
having one basic newspaper whose logo is changed for each community
area. The news, then, within each series published by a particular

TABLE 5.1

PERCENT WITH RELATIVES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD
ALL NEIGHBORHOODS

Austin	57.0
Back of the Yards	54.0
Beverly	43.8
East Side	74.9
Hyde Park/Kenwood	26.7
Lincoln Park	24.4
Portage Park	34.9
South Shore	53.1

TABLE 5.2

PERCENT WITH GOOD FRIENDS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD
ALL NEIGHBORHOODS

Austin	70.9
Back of the Yards	70.4
Beverly	83.8
East Side	90.0
Hyde Park/Kenwood	88.5
Lincoln Park	84.7
Portage Park	67.9
South Shore	71.9

publisher is almost always the same. Most of it is reported as applying
to the "Northwest Side," and only some advertisers and sometimes one
story is changed to fit the appropriate community area. Thus the Portage
Park News and the Irving Park News, both products of the Peacock Publishing
Company which is not located in either neighborhood, are virtually
identical.

By contrast, Beverly has two newspapers of its own, and East
Side, although it does not have its own paper, is regularly and thoroughly
covered by the Daily Calumet which identifies East Side news clearly.

The permeability of the community is heightened by the fact
that although Portage Park has the two most successful residential
shopping areas among our communities, each is located on edges of the
community rather than in the center. Consequently, they serve a substan-
tial segment of the city's northwest side. Both centers are distinguished
as well by the high percentage of their strips which are still devoted
to various types of high-investment retail use.

We have seen how Beverly and East Side fought the location of
shopping centers in or next to their communities. In those cases, the
objection was that the centers would bring in "undesirables." By contrast,
a shopping center outside of Portage Park is a problem for Portage
Parkers, or, at least, for its merchants. There is great fear among
them that this new center, The Brickyard, will draw customers from them.
The shop owners in the area closest to the new shopping center are now
organizing themselves to strike back. The cornerstone in that effort
is a new parking lot financed largely by the city. Portage Parkers
may perceive that the shopping areas bring in many outsiders, but the
shopkeepers at least realize that the outsiders are their bread and

butter. Portage Park residents do make heavy use of local facilities.
In a way, this is the only counter to the lack of local social organi-
zation the community displays. It is tied with East Side for level
of local facility use.

Clearly, unlike East Side or Beverly, Portage Park is not a
defended community. People did at one time rally around efforts to
prevent an expressway from being constructed through the area; but by
and large they perceive their area as unthreatened, and they have not
generated community-wide organizations to deal with change, renovation,
or other community problems. Not surprisingly, people do not join
voluntary associations to deal with community-wide problems. In Beverly,
31.3 percent and even in East Side, where particularistic networks are
very strong, 20.3 percent of respondents are members of organizations
concerned with the quality of community life. The figure for Portage
Park is only 11.9 percent. One knowledgeable informant characterized
Portage Park residents as being "like so many grains of sand." "If
they had to organize," he said, "they would have no existing basis on
which to do it."

Portage Park is a low crime area, and its residents perceive
that to be the case. On self-reported victimization, Portage Park
consistently ranks second from the bottom (see Table 5.3); the same
basic order is evidenced in the police data. Along with Beverly, the
smallest proportion of residents (3.5 percent) are likely to see Portage
Park as a high crime area.

In general, Portage Parkers are also less fearful of crime than
are residents in other neighborhoods. This should be placed in context.
More than half of Portage Parkers (56.4 percent) feel frightened if

TABLE 5.3

PERCENT REPORTING THAT THEY OR SOMEONE IN THEIR
HOUSEHOLD EXPERIENCED THE FOLLOWING TYPES
OF VICTIMIZATION IN THE LAST YEAR
LOW CRIME NEIGHBORHOODS

	Personal[a]	Property[b]	Total[c]
Beverly	5.4	16.1	25.9
East Side . . .	3.9	19.9	29.0
Portage Park . .	4.1	18.4	27.0

[a] robbery, assault, or rape in the neighborhood

[b] burglary or theft in the neighborhood

[c] personal crime, property crime, or vandalism

they hear footsteps behind them at night. Beverly's and East Side's figures are about the same. And more than a third worry that their house will be broken into when they are away. Worry, fear, and concern about crime are pervasive in the world of which we write.

Nonetheless, Portage Park is physically furthest from higher crime areas, and the residents know that. In response to the question "Is there any area right around here—that is, within a mile—where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?", only 38.3 percent of Portage Park residents answer yes. The next nearest community in terms of percentage who say yes to that item is East Side, in which forty percent more respondents—54.7 percent—express fear. Two thirds or more of all other respondents are likely to fear that nighttime walk. Portage Parkers are least likely to restrict the walks of their children as well.

Portage Parkers are also least likely to be plagued with other urban difficulties. On our index of urban problems, which included such things as dog nuisances, abandoned housing, and vacant lots, Portage Park ranked lowest (see Chapter 3 for a complete description of that index). On our objective measures of deterioration, Portage Park ranks close to the bottom. Only Beverly shows lower levels of apparent structural deterioration and higher levels of lawn maintenance. Portage Park residents maintain their parkways (the strip of land between the sidewalk and the road) at a slightly better level than do Beverly residents.

Yet, even in Portage Park concern about race looms fairly large. On an index constructed of two items, "When Blacks move in, crime goes up," and "When Blacks move in, property values go down," Portage Park consistently scores among the top four communties (Back of the Yards, East Side and Austin are the other three). And what is even more astonishing is that with no blacks and a neglible number of Hispanics in the community, one third of Portage Park residents say that the neighborhood is racially changing. To get some perspective on that, one must note that more residents in Beverly report themselves to be stable. Orientals and Hispanics who have moved into nearby Albany Park do make use of Portage Park's successful shopping strips as well as the Park itself. Perhaps this is what that group of residents had in mind.

In important respects, Portage Park represents a polar opposite when compared with East Side. It does not display the dense, overlapping ties which one associates with the stronger and more inclusive definitions of community. So far, its residents have not paid any price for that lack

of cohesiveness. In fact, even if we turn to the classical literature of the urban community which raised questions about the psychological costs of lack of ties, Portage Park residents show less anomie than East Side's. Given the fact that educational levels in both communities are similar (anomie correlates closely with educational levels), it appears that when there is no threat, the lack of organization is cost-free.

Despite the high average age of residents, which in East Side looks ominous because it indicates that young people are not choosing to move into the community in substantial numbers, Portage Park appears not to have a problem. Starting with the second highest base price of our eight communities, Portage Park showed a property appreciation rate of 95% for the period 1973-1978. Adequate housing appreciation coupled with the successful organization and maintenance of its shopping strips indicates that demand in Portage Park is sufficiently high, at present anyway, to forestall decline.

What seems to be the case is that the classical theories of urban growth spelled out in Chapter 1 provide an understanding of Portage Park's situation. Located in an outer ring of the city and on the north side, "natural" social forces which work to undermine other communities help Portage Park maintain itself.

In summary, then, we have three low crime communities. On some dimensions they are comparable and in directions which one would be likely to expect. Of our eight communities, residents are most likely in these three to be homeowners, long-time residents, older, and living in conjugal family households. They are less likely to fear crime than those in the other communities, and less likely than most of them to face the difficulties concerned with urban life (although East Siders are

are worried about drug use).

However, as a group they are not the most highly educated, or even the most prosperous. On the educational dimension, Hyde Park and Lincoln Park exceed all three, and South Shore exceeds Portage Park and East Side. On the basis of family income, Beverly does rank above all others. This is a slightly misleading fact because Hyde Park and Lincoln Park which rank second and third, respectively, have many more single-earner households for whom family income must inevitably come out lower when compared with two-earner households.

One can detect a sense of being beleagured in two of the communities—not on the basis of interview reports, but rather on the basis of community activity. Those two are Beverly and East Side. As we shall see, high levels of organizationally-based defensive activity are characteristic of most of our communities. In that sense, Portage Park is anomalous.

It is our general view that neighborhoods which maintain levels of property appreciation through market demand and which maintain themselves physically as well do not "just happen". The maintenance of what is a more normal state of affairs in suburban housing, at least in newer suburbs, requires enormous effort of residents through organizational activities and strong social cohesion.

In this sense, then, Portage Park is an interesting anomaly. So far protected from the forces of decline by its distance from the central city, its residents are able to go about their business without organizing to protect themselves and without developing or maintaining strong interpersonal social ties. By being far removed from both the poverty areas of the city and other components of deterioration, it is effectively shielded from some sources of crime.

This completes our survey of the three low crime neighborhoods. When we selected our sample of low crime neighborhoods, we included one more, Back of the Yards. During the period of time that we were preparing to do research, Back of the Yards moved from being a low crime neighborhood to a more ambiguous status. It shares many attributes with our low crime neighborhoods of East Side and Portage Park, and other attributes with the high crime neighborhoods of Austin and South Shore. Let us turn to it.

CHAPTER 6

BACK OF THE YARDS

Back of the Yards is one of Chicago's most famous neighborhoods. The Yards are the famous Union Stockyards, and the neighborhood is the one Upton Sinclair had in mind when he wrote The Jungle, that Carl Sandburg thought of when he sang of the "Hog Butcher to the World," and the one where Saul Alinsky, with the help of Joe Meegan, organized his first community. The Stockyards closed in 1971, much of the vitality has drained from the neighborhood, most of the smells are gone--Joe Meegan now presides over a shrinking neighborhood.

Back of the Yards is in decline. But in saying this, one must be careful not to romanticize the past. Back of the Yards got its start as a home for low-wage immigrant workers who were packed into congested quarters, whole families to a room, and single men into rabbit-warren quarters. In its heyday in the 1920s, more than 92,000 people were crowded into the area. Today the population is close to half that.

But the simple frame houses crammed together on twenty-five-foot frontage lots, and the frame double-deckers which provided an investment opportunity for the low-income worker still represent one kind of housing option for low to moderate income workers. On the best streets, the neat yards and freshly painted facades can both permit homeownership and be a source of pride. To the extent then that Back of the Yards deteriorates beyond recovery, an important housing option is lost.

Back of the Yards began its life as a residential area with the growth and construction of the Stockyards after the Civil War. Constructed on marshy land, the Stockyards made use of the south fork

BACK OF THE YARDS
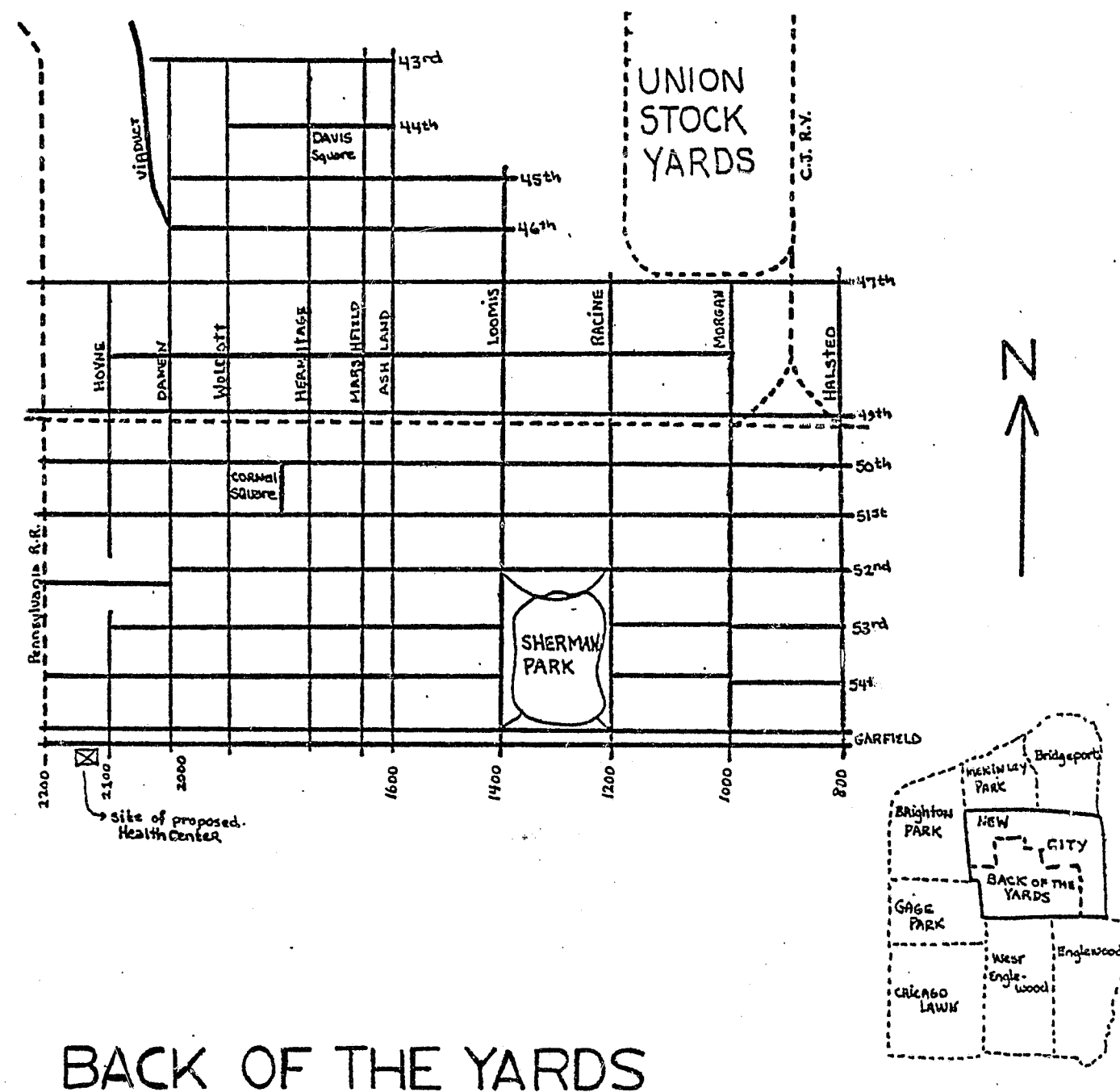
of the South Branch of the Chicago River as the receptacle for its wastes. The community grew rapidly in the 1870s, although there were as yet no paved streets, sewers, public utilities or even transportation facilities to the city (LCFB). The first workers were Irish and German. They were subsequently supplanted by Polish workers initially brought in as strike breakers. The Poles, in turn, were followed by Lithuanians and Czechoslovakians. Although the more successful of them began to move south and west as time went on, people of Polish descent today still comprise the area's major ethnic group, with approximately one-third of residents reporting that heritage. There are also still substantial concentrations of people of Irish, German, Slavic, and Lithuanian descent. People of Mexican descent first moved into the community in the 1920s, and today the Mexican community, representing 26 percent of the area's current population, is clearly the ethnic component that is still growing. The biggest change in Back of the Yards, however, is the growth of the black population which at the time of our survey accounted for nearly 20 percent. Moving into the community from the south and the east, blacks are becoming an increasingly important component of community life (see Figure 6.1).

Back of the Yards has more than twenty churches within its boundaries, most of which are Roman Catholic. As early as the 1920s there were eleven parishes in the area. Although their congregations have diminished since that time, they are still a major focus of activity for the community's non-black residents, providing bingo nights, Golden Age dinners, and parochial schools for the dwindling number of youth.

It was into this ethnic, working-class setting that Saul Alinsky and Joe Meegan came in 1939 to organize the Back of the Yards Council.

The Council welded together the churches and the packinghouse workers'
union into a tight, cohesive organization to fight both the big meat
packing companies and the city for improved services. At the same time,
it developed programs to deal with problems of youth crime. After the
Second World War, it continued these activities and undertook construction
programs to improve local housing, much of which had outmoded plumbing
and wiring.

Alinsky left shortly after he arrived. Meegan stayed behind.
The organization he built had ties not only to the churches, but also
to the political system and all of those offering city services such
as the police department, local school officials, and the department
of sanitation. Many if not most of Chicago's important political
leaders in the past twenty years have been both Irish and residents
of adjacent Bridgeport--another tight ethnic neighborhood. Meegan
was able to maintain strong ties both to Mayor Richard Daley and his
immediate successor.

The Back of the Yards Council continues to maintain these kinds
of ties. The organization is still strongly rooted in the churches,
and it continues to project a picture to the outside world through the
press, and to its own constituency through meetings and a local newspaper,
that things have not changed. In fact, however, Back of the Yards is
a rapidly deteriorating area with increasing crime and property aban-
donment. The world over which Meegan presides is shrinking.

That the area's residents are acutely aware of these changes
is readily apparent from their survey responses, but one would never
presume them from visiting Meegan in his office at the center of the
area's one remaining successful shopping strip. Grey-haired, dignified,
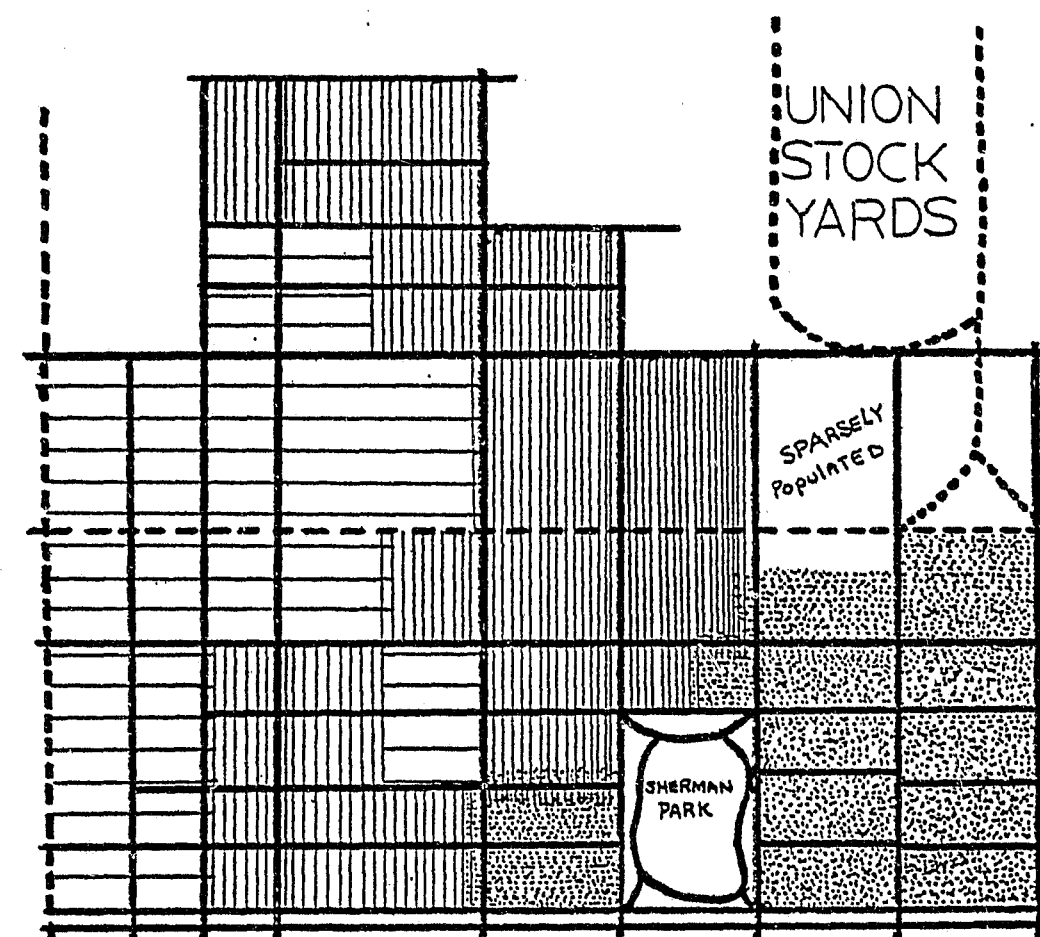
BACK OF THE YARDS-RACIAL CONCENTRATIONS

BLACK

HISPANIC & WHITE

WHITE

wearing a three-piece suit and seated in a carpeted office, he presides
over his kingdom with authority. A building has burnt down during the
night. He is trying to locate the owner so that the rubble can be
quickly cleaned up. A railway line has left box cars on nearby tracks
creating an attractive nuisance. He is on to a vice president of the
railway to move the cars. A telephone survey is being conducted by
an outside organization. He orders it to be stopped. "His people"
have instructions not to talk to anybody on the phone. They are old
and frightened, prey to unscrupulous real estate brokers and "gypsy"
repairmen who try to bilk them. He has records of every property owner
in the Back of the Yards area, and when he finds misbehavior such as
code violations, he brings city inspectors down on them.

To sit in his office is to watch a masterful community organizer
with ties to the mighty and a fatherly concern for his flock.

The Back of the Yards Journal, published by the Council, reflects
this orientation. It does not report crime or other problems bcause
that would disturb his people. Instead, it reports news as if the world
were still the tight little one of ethnic weddings and parties, churches
and nuns and priests.

A typical issue of the Back of the Yards Journal (April 2, 1980)
reported the following on its front page: A St. Joseph School student
was named junior citizen of the year by the local park district; 12
local dentists voluntarily screened the teeth of students at 15 area
Catholic grade schools; a party was being planned to honor the coach
of the De Paul University basketball team; a Spanish Mass will be cele-
brated at Sacred Heart Church; and local churches listed their Holy
Week and Easter services (thirty-three churches are included). Also

in this issue are: Easter egg hunts at local parks; the injury of
a young woman on the Maria High School basketball team; St. Augustine
Grade School registers for fall semester; the American Legion will
hold a blood drive; the archconfraternity of Our Mother of Consolation
of St. Clare of Montefalco Church will hold its monthly communion (it
will also have a Spring Card and Bunco Party); and St. Rita High School
students have raised money to help a paralyzed alumnus. There are twenty-
four more articles in the issue, mentioning in their headlines the names
of nine churches or church schools. Three of its twelve pictures are
of priests and nuns, two others are of the American Legion and Campfire
Girls, and five are of Modern China.

No other community newspaper in our sample so completely excludes
news on crime, developments in housing, and related matters. The closest
that the Journal has ever come to reporting on crime related to its
own program of providing free paint to those who want to paint out graffiti
(which, as we shall see, is a major problem in the area). In addition,
black faces almost never appear in the Journal. Nor is there ever news
about the rapid rates of deterioration which characterize the area.
Mexicans fare substantially better, but even their coverage is not up
to the proportion they represent. In some sense, then, the Council
is a holding action of sorts for the declining number of aging whites
who continue to live in the area.

Like East Side, the white residents are old with a median age
of fifty (compared to thirty-six for blacks). Thirty-two percent have
lived there all their lives (compared to 25 percent for East Side),
and the median length of residence for the remainder is twenty-four
years, again making it comparable to East Side. In fact, considering

the white residents only, Back of the Yards is demographically very similar to East Side and secondarily so to Portage Park. That is, it is a working class and ethnic neighborhood. Most respondents have high school educations or less. Two-thirds of the men are employed as craftsmen, operatives or laborers. But incomes are low, with only 16 percent reporting family incomes of more than $20,000 per year.

Also like East Side, white Back of the Yards is somewhat ingrown. Fifty-six percent of respondents have relatives living in the neighborhood and 77 percent have good friends there. About half visit with their relatives once a week or more. The percentage reporting local church attendance (85) is comparable to that in East Side; a higher proportion than in East Side do their shopping locally (supporting the only really successful shopping strip outside of Portage Park).

There is, then, for the whites, some resemblance to the church-oriented, gemutlich world portrayed in the Back of the Yards Journal. One young informant reported that she and her husband, both of whom had been born in Back of the Yards, had moved to neighboring Bridgeport when they were married. "But we were never really comfortable there," she said, so they moved back to Back of the Yards which they really like--"Where you grew up is where you belong."

But the other important fact is that this resemblance is waning. Among the whites (and we will see that the black perspective is not very different), living in Back of the Yards does not produce a sanguine view of the world. The relatively low level of positive orientation is quite different from the upbeat perspectives of Beverly, East Side, and Portage Park. Satisfaction levels are relatively low, with only 67 percent of the white residents reporting general satisfaction with

the neighborhood, making it a tie with our other two lowest ranking neighborhoods, Austin and South Shore. Fifty-two percent report that the neighborhood has declined in the past two years and about as many predict that it will continue downward in the next two.

In terms of residents' assessments of their neighborhood according to the list of neighborhood problems we mentioned earlier (ranging from noisy neighbors to abandoned buildings), white Back of the Yards stands third. On our own measures of housing deterioration and lawn maintenance, Back of the Yards, in fact, ranks an unlikely first. With 16.4 percent of the whites reporting that there is a "lot of crime" in the neighborhood, this group ranks higher than any of the other neighborhoods taken as wholes.

The white, Roman Catholic neighborhood is definitely shrinking. Moving in from the south and east is a group of new black residents. This group is perceived by the whites as being the source of their problems. Sixty percent of white Back of the Yards respondents, a larger proportion than in any other neighborhood, report that crime goes up when blacks move in. Moreover, 72.4 percent of the whites report that property values go down when blacks move in.

The relatively new black residents of Back of the Yards do not differ substantially from the whites in most of their assessments of the neighborhood, although as a group they are considerably younger (median age thirty-six) and have lived in the neighborhood for a much shorter period of time (median five years). They are somewhat poorer (54.8 percent report annual family incomes under $10,000), although about the same proportion report incomes over $20,000 per year as do whites (see Table 6.1). Their occupational distributions are similar

except that blacks are somewhat more likely to be employed in the service sector.

TABLE 6.1

TOTAL FAMILY INCOME DURING 1978, BY RACE - BACK OF THE YARDS
(Percent)

	Race	
	White (193)	Black (73)
Less than $10,000	43.5	54.8
$10,000 - $20,000	40.4	24.7
$20,000 - $30,000	13.0	11.0
$30,000 or more	3.1	9.6

The black conception of Back of the Yards is quite similar to that of the whites. Only 63 percent of them report overall satisfaction with the neighborhood. Nearly 58 percent of black respondents think the neighborhood has gotten worse in the past two years and about 42 percent think it will be worse in the next two. Black and white respondents are equally likely to say that there is a lot of crime in the neighborhood, and their evaluations of the risk of becoming a victim themselves are similar.

Rates of victimization for blacks and whites in Back of the Yards are fairly similar, with 13 percent of both groups reporting that they or someone in their household experienced personal violent crime during the past year. Among our eight communities, this places Back of the Yards second, behind Austin, in reported personal victimization. For property crime, about 27 percent of the whites report victimization--

a proportion comparable to that of Lincoln Park and Hyde Park/Kenwood whites. Blacks in Back of the Yards report somewhat less property victimization (20.5 percent). On vandalism, the whites in Back of the Yards tie for second with Lincoln Park whites at about 22 percent, with the blacks at 16 percent.

Blacks in Back of the Yards are nearly as likely as whites to believe that the arrival of blacks in a community increases crime and reduces property values (51 compared to 60 percent for the former, and 67 compared to 72 percent for the latter).

Although they are relatively new residents, a strikingly large proportion of blacks (55 percent) consider Back of the Yards a "real home." However, perhaps reflecting their relative newness in the neighborhood, their ties do not run as deep as those of white residents. They are somewhat less likely to have either relatives (42.2 percent compared to 56.2 percent) or good friends (49.4 compared to 77 percent) in the neighborhood. They spend fewer social evenings with relatives and with neighbors than do whites, and they are more likely to visit friends outside the community (see Table 6.2). Blacks are very much more likely to do their shopping, dining out, and going to church elsewhere in the city (see Table 6.3). And they are less likely to be able to count on their neighbors to keep watch on their house and to lend them money (69.1 percent compared to 91 percent; and 63.9 percent compared to 75.9 percent, respectively).

Just as the Back of the Yards Council symbolizes and defines the white world for its constituency, another organization, the Organization for New City (ONC), represents and interprets the black world. The name "New City" is taken from the old University of Chicago list of

names for community areas, and designates a different and somewhat larger

territory than does Back of the Yards. Founded in 1976 by local black

residents who were alarmed at the increasing number of abandoned houses

in their area and the HUD contribution to that process, ONC meets in

a local Roman Catholic Church, and its black executive officer is an

ex-seminarian who reports he was baptized in one of the Back of the

Yards churches. Like the Council, ONC is a multi-purpose organization

devoted to upgrading its community through career days, health programs,

anti-truancy programs, community barbecues, and efforts to prevent housing

deterioration and to reduce crime. Unlike the Council, the world it

portrays is a world of grim struggle and social disorganization. Where

Joe Meegan elicits cooperation from his old pals in city agencies, ONC

fights--the difference in approach illustrates the fact that one is

"on the inside" and the other is not.

TABLE 6.2

PERCENT REPORTING THAT THEY DO THE FOLLOWING THINGS ONCE A WEEK OR MORE, BY RACE - BACK OF THE YARDS

	Race	
	White	Black
Spend a social evening with relatives	50.0	39.5
Spend a social evening with a neighbor	37.0	24.4
Spend an evening with friends who live outside the neighborhood	28.7	34.1

TABLE 6.3

PERCENT REPORTING USE AND NONUSE OF VARIOUS NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES - BACK OF THE YARDS

Referring to:	Black				White			
	Usually in Neighbor-hood	Some in Some out	Usually out Neighbor-hood	Total	Usually in Neighbor-hood	Some in Some out	Usually out Neighbor-hood	Total
Grocery shopping	57.8	0.0	42.4	83	75.2	1.8	22.9	218
Restaurants	17.5	1.8	80.7	57	44.4	1.1	54.5	187
Religious services	23.3	0.0	76.7	73	84.8	0.0	15.2	191
Banking	26.6	1.6	71.9	64	82.8	0.5	16.7	203
Purchase clothing	26.8	2.4	70.7	82	50.9	1.4	47.6	212

ONC has, in fact, had to struggle to get cooperation from schools and from the police. Some principals will not allow ONC to organize career days at their schools. Some district police commanders will not meet with ONC officers or return their calls. The organization must at times even struggle with the Back of the Yards Council for control of the same turf. ONC efforts to build a community health center at the edge of the Council area, for example, were objected to by the Council (see map).

Supported at times by community anti-crime funds, ONC has a vigorous anti-crime program. Efforts have included a "Watch Dog" Crisis Center, busing for senior citizens, block club organization, and youth programs—particularly the anti-truancy one. Its blunt presentation of crime in the neighborhood stands in sharp contrast to the Back of the Yards Council's avoidance of the topic: "She said he held a gun on her, pulled her into an abandoned building and raped her. When she screamed, he beat her in the face with the gun and said he would kill her" (New City Watch Dog, 1979). Unlike the Back of the Yards Council, which works closely with the police, ONC believes it has to harass the agents of criminal justice in order to get them to perform their duty. ONC, however, must park its bus for transporting the elderly at the police station. When left on the street in front of its offices, the vehicle was severely vandalized.

Despite major differences in the organizations purporting to represent them, there is overall quite a similarity between the black and the white residents of Back of the Yards. However, there is a third major group, the Hispanics, which stands in real contrast to both of the others. Although there have been Mexicans in Back of the Yards

since the 1920s, most are newcomers to the community, the median length of residence being only three years. Even so, the Hispanics show a far more positive orientation to the community than do either the whites or the blacks. About 86 percent express overall general satisfaction with the neighborhood. Only 25 percent report that the neighborhood has declined in the past two years, although a substantially larger 41.4 percent think it will get worse within the next two.

More similar to the whites than to the blacks, 56 percent of Hispanic respondents report that they have relatives in the neighborhood and 72.5 percent report that they have good friends there. However, the frequency with which they engage in social activities is less than that of either of the other groups. Twenty-seven percent visit relatives once a week or more. They visit neighbors with about the same frequency that the blacks do, with 20.9 percent reporting that they visit them once a week or more. The Hispanics report spending social evenings with friends outside the neighborhood at a level lower than do blacks and whites.

The fact that total visiting seems to be less for Hispanics may reflect a cultural difference which we do not fully understand, for on other measures, they do display a level of integration into the community close to that of the whites. Although they are somewhat less likely to consider the neighborhood home (45.8 percent) than are the whites, they are much closer to the whites than to the blacks in being able to count on their neighbors to keep watch on their house and to lend them money (86.4 and 77 percent, respectively). They are also much more like the whites in that they make heavy use of neighborhood facilities, doing most of their shopping, praying, and banking within the community.

Crime is less of a problem for the Hispanics than it is for either the whites or blacks. Only 3 percent (less than one-fifth of the white proportion) report that there is a lot of crime in the neighborhood. This is congruent with their reports of victimization experience. (See Table 6.4). Only 6.3 percent of the Hispanic respondents report that they or somebody in their household has been the victim of a personal crime. .

TABLE 6.4

PERCENT REPORTING THAT THEY OR SOMEONE IN THEIR HOUSEHOLD
EXPERIENCED THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF VICTIMIZATION
IN THE LAST YEAR - BACK OF THE YARDS

Type of Victimization	White	Black	Hispanic
Personal	13.2	13.3	6.3
Property	27.4	20.5	20.7
Vandalism	22.4	15.9	17.1
Total victimization[a]	45.7	34.9	34.2

[a]Percentages do not add to the total because of multiple victimizations.

Hispanics report the same level of property crimes as the blacks do and about the same level of vandalism (which may be, on the basis of our observations, the spraying of graffiti).

The Hispanics, in their short time in the area, seem to have established a relatively more communal and satisfying world for themselves than either the blacks or the whites. This may reflect the fact that for many of them, Back of the Yards is fulfilling its traditional function as a point of entry for groups newly coming to this country. For such

new arrivals, expectations are not necessarily very high. In addition, as Roman Catholics, they are able to enter into the web of relationships which has been a source of strength to the white neighborhood. The converse of this is because they are Roman Catholic, they are also part of a social world which is very much more acceptable to the white population. Although we do not have survey data on white attitudes toward Hispanics, we do know that Hispanics live comfortably in East Side and Bridgeport, areas where black residents' presence so far has not been permitted. In fact, Miss East Side of 1980 was Hispanic. And, as we discussed earlier, Hispanic names and faces are much more likely to appear in the Back of the Yards Journal than are black.

It would seem to be the case that through common church membership, Hispanics and whites are able to relate to each other in meaningful ways and to become part of the same world. It is also true in a more general sense that prejudice against blacks is stronger than it is against Hispanics. Nonetheless, it should be noted that in the Southwest, where the receiving culture is Protestant and anti-Catholic rather than the ethnic Catholic type of Chicago, anti-Hispanic attitudes among the whites seem to be more deeply rooted.

Furthermore, whereas Back of the Yards is, at least for some proportion of the Hispanics, a way station on their path toward upward mobility and full citizenship, it is a very different place for whites and blacks. For whites, it is a shrinking and deteriorating world in which many of them are trapped. For the blacks, it is yet another example of the undesirable options available to them.

One general source of the whole area's problem is the Stockyards. During its heyday, the Stockyards allegedly employed more than 30,000

people and covered 700 acres. In a substantially reduced form, it closed in 1971, leaving behind a vacant area of several hundred acres.

Efforts of the city to convert the area into general industrial use have not been dramatically successful, with only one segment of the area now being used in that fashion. As is the case in most northern cities, industries have been leaving Chicago at a fairly rapid rate, and the attractions of the Stockyards land have not been adequate to encourage corporations to locate facilities there.

In 1978, the developer responsible for the large shopping center near Portage Park, which we have already discussed, proposed another enclosed shopping center for the Stockyards area. The announcement was front page news everywhere, particularly because this developer is both politically well-connected and because his other in-city shopping centers have done so well. Public announcements emphasized that it would bring new life to the area.

Shortly afterwards, the proposal disappeared without a trace. The official explanation was that the center would bring congestion to an area with narrow streets. Rumor was that it was rejected for much the same reason that the shopping center near Beverly had been opposed—it would bring more blacks to the area. The Back of the Yards Council itself could not have killed such a proposal. The front of the yards, however, is Bridgeport which is well known for burning down the houses of black people mistakenly moving into the area and sometimes harassing those just happening to drive through. As we mentioned earlier, it was also the home of the city's last four mayors and large numbers of important political figures and city employees. The Stockyards continue to be vacant. (According to a recent issue of the Back of the

Yards Journal [May 6, 1981], however, a new proposal to convert the area to industrial use is underway.)

Although, in fact, maintenance quality is variable throughout the area, and there are numerous blocks of neatly kept homes, some of them even quite elegant as one approaches the major boulevards, a trip through the neighborhood is a dreary experience. In some sections housing abandonment is as high as in any of our deteriorated neighborhoods. As we reported, a higher proportion of buildings are undermaintained there than in any of our other neighborhoods. The empty acreage of the Stockyards dominates one segment.

While one of the shopping areas does continue to thrive, three others display vacant stores and the conversion of many storefronts into residences. These areas are in the black section of the neighborhood, and their decline is no doubt tied to the fact that blacks are so much less likely than whites to shop in the neighborhood. The proportion of vacant stores and vacant lots in some of these areas exceeds one-third of the total frontage.

In some sense, then, Back of the Yards stands as a symbol of the precariousness of low-income inner city neighborhoods. In a very short time, it has moved from being a stable, low-crime ethnic neighborhood into a deteriorating one with higher levels of crime.

CHAPTER 7

AUSTIN

If Back of the Yards has been one of Chicago's most famous communities with a clear image built around the Stockyards, Austin has been one of the city's least distinctive areas, existing as a kind of middle America of urban communities. Located six miles straight west of Chicago's Loop on the city's border, it has always been a community of varied but rather nondistinctive housing stock.

Austin is Chicago's largest community area, with a population of 125,000 people and an area of 7.2 square miles. Despite its size, however, its residents are alleged to have shared a consensual definition of the community's dispersed boundaries. Part of this no doubt relates to the fact that the boundaries are so sharp: at its northern, southern, and eastern borders are railroad lines and railroad yards, the eastern border reinforced by industrial areas; and its western border is the city's western boundary (see map).

Paradoxically, although it has not been physically or socially distinctive, it has spawned some of the nation's most well-known leaders in the neighborhood preservation movement and was one of the first areas in the nation to make "redlining," the practice of denying mortgages to an area because of its racial composition, a major political and social issue. That issue and the calling for changes in FHA housing policies because of their negative consequences, particularly in Austin, subsequently became cornerstones of efforts to develop a national neighborhoods program.

The tactics of local leaders involved in these issues were and, in fact, are Alinskyite in style, using confrontation to achieve

AUSTIN
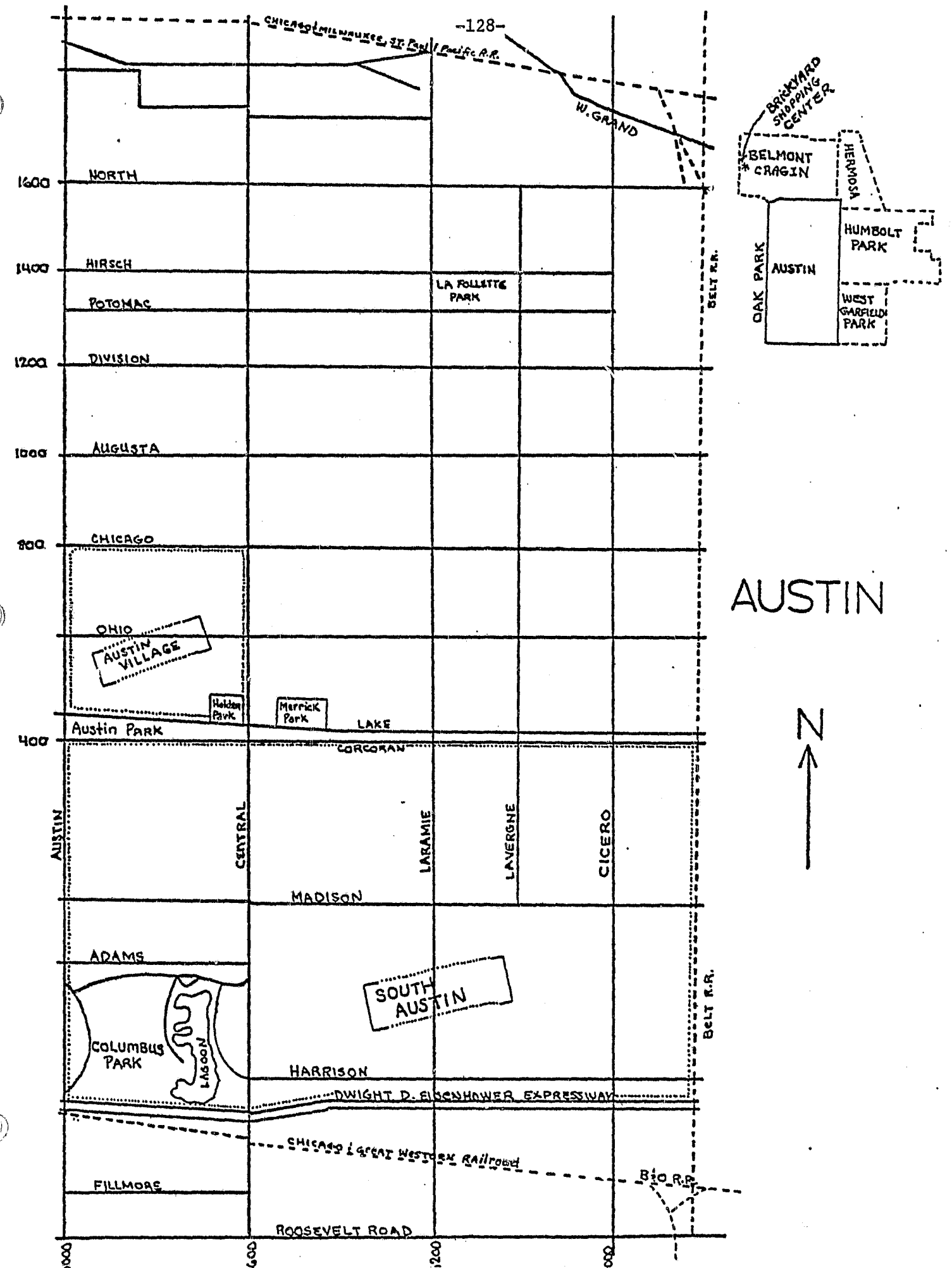
broadly-based support. (It is ironic that the original Alinskyite
organization, the Back of the Yards Council, is so determinedly anti-
confrontational by contrast.) Although they pursue their goals with
varying degrees of gentility, the orientation of all the community
organizations in Austin includes the perception that the police, the
school boards and the other providers of city services are adversaries
who have "written them off," and, consequently, contributed either to
their decline or to the impending decline somewhere in the near future.

Like Beverly, Austin began as both a commuter village and as
home for railway workers who were employed in the yards just east of
the area. After the Great Chicago Fire in 1871, people were encouraged
to move to that area and establish their homes. Five years earlier,
the first suburban development in the area had been initiated by Henry
Austin for whom the subdivision was named.

Some of the first houses in this western area were large frame
houses, often constructed in the Queen Anne style, but the area rapidly
also filled with small frame houses and two flats. South Austin, with
its large number of two flats, is a product of the first quarter of
the twentieth century. Most of North Austin's construction took place
during the twenties, the predominant housing style there being the brick
bungalow.

Austin has historically offered industrial work opportunities
in profusion, although the majority of the employing corporations were
located either on or just beyond the boundaries of Austin itself. Over
the years, nationally known manufacturers, including Zenith Radio, Mars
and Brachs candies, Revere Copper and Brass, and Pettibone Mulliken,
have located in that region. The vast railroad yards around the area's
borders also continued to be major employers.

Ethnically, the community has always been mixed. During the
early part of the century, Scots, English, Germans, European Jews,
Swedes, and Irish all were included in that mix. During the 1930s,
large numbers of Italians began moving into Austin from the more crowded
and deteriorating areas to the east, and by 1960 they were the most
numerous group (Goodwin, 1979 p. 19). However, true to Chicago's political
traditions, the Irish dominated the community's political life. The
Irish clergy's control of religious life was also felt in the community
until the 1930s when some of the parishes to the north became Italian.
The impact of the church can even be noted in the fact, Goodwin reports,
that people, whatever their religion, identified the location of their
houses by parish.

It is tempting to emphasize the prosperity of Austin through
the 1940s and 50s, particularly because of the dramatic contrast it
represents with the present. Goodwin's otherwise excellent analysis
of Austin falls somewhat into this trap. Yet, a 1942 report on Austin
identifies several large areas of quite severe deterioration. The area
of old Austin with its large frame houses was beginning to show its
age. In addition, the smaller frame houses interspersed among the
larger dwellings and "a number of individual structures closely approach
a blighted condition" (Klove, p. 30). Some of the houses just north
of that area were also reported deteriorated. In South Austin, there
were areas of mixed housing use which showed similar conditions. In
some sections there were excessive proportions of vacant lots and
stagnating patterns of mixed land use.

The last comments of this author are worth quoting in detail.

The quality of housing along most of the eastern border of Austin
. . . . is old and poorer. Indeed, there is a general tendency,
. . . for housing quality to improve from east to west. . . . In

the eastern half of Austin, a higher proportion of employed are
in industry, while in western Austin employment in the loop is much
greater.

The major planning problem in Austin . . . is one of conservation
and maintenance. While only a few blocks approach the blighted
condition, most of the area is of older construction and needs
attention to prevent it from slipping (p. 31).

Although there was some new construction in the southeast portion
of Austin in the late 1950s, it is safe to say that Austin was an older
community with signs of deterioration by the 1960s, when blacks began
to enter the community from the south and east.

If one were to pick a community in which the classic racial
change scenario was written out, one could scarcely do better (or worse)
than Austin. According to Goodwin, between the years of 1966 and 1973,
blocks changed over from white to black at the rate of 37½ per year.
The turnover was accompanied, if not hastened, by every kind of abuse
one associates with such changes: panic peddling--"blacks are moving
in, you'd better get out"; racial steering; mortgage redlining; the
whole panoply of problems with FHA programs--home improvements which
were never made because inspectors were bribed, mortgages to unqualified
applicants and subsequent building foreclosure and abandonment; and
the milking of multiple-family dwellings through undermaintenance.

The situation sounds almost chaotic and it probably was. Crime
rose as potential criminals were able to take advantage of ensuing social
disorganization. Nobody could tell any longer, for example, who belonged
on a block and who didn't. As one resident said at the time, "How can
anyone know . . . if the man carrying a TV out of the house is its actual
owner" (Greenwood, 1975, p. 30).

In this setting, community organizations arose, and block clubs
were organized to deal with problems around questions of social control.

The first important community-wide organization was the Organiza-
tion for a Better Austin (OBA). Established by local clergy and organized
by people trained by Alinsky, it began with the approach to stabilize
the neighborhood with which we are already familiar. It attempted to
discourage realtors from panic peddling--it was active in getting passed
the city ordinance which prohibited "For Sale" signs. It worked to
encourage white residents to remain in the area, to attract new whites
to the community, and, with somewhat less enthusiasm, to redistribute
blacks in such a way as to discourage resegregation. It encouraged
more visible police patrolling, and attempted to improve the schools,
partly by busing students from the overcrowded schools in South Austin.

But as the area continued to change, so did the organization's
priorities. Crime, deteriorating housing, and disinvestment became
increasing sources of concern. OBA's approach was confrontational and,
consequently, controversial. They picketed the homes and offices of
real estate agents who seemed to be profiting from and exploiting the
racial change situation. They marched on city agencies demanding better
services. In the Alinsky tradition, they tried to get citizens angry
and, through that anger, to obtain involvement.

The Town Hall Assembly arose in response to OBA which it considered
unruly, embarrassing and unhelpful. Closely tied to the community's
churches, it attempted to work with the establishment rather than against
it, and usually toward goals which were consistent with middle-class
aspirations. It encouraged permissive transfer programs from its over-
crowded schools; got tax assessments reduced; urged local employers
to encourage their employees to live in Austin; ran a tutoring program;
and promoted holiday parades and other social community-building events.

Over time, both groups faded away and were replaced with new community organizations which arose in response to the community's increasingly heterogeneous needs which resulted from the northward-moving racial change. Spurred on by the riots after Martin Luther King's death, South Austin became increasingly deteriorated. The number of abandoned houses rose, and shopping strips more and more developed the "bombed out" look which is distressingly familiar in such neighborhoods. In addition, South Austin always had a larger proportion of multiple family dwellings, most of them two flats, than the northern area, making it a more likely candidate for undermaintenance.

The South and Mid-Austin organizations, then, have devoted more time to getting better law enforcement and to a whole range of activities related to upgrading housing quality. The latter run the gamut from encouraging banks to give loans and insurance companies not to redline to taking over abandoned houses and rehabilitating them through government programs. In fact, they have been moderately successful in fighting insurance redlining and in rehabilitating housing units. Levels of deterioration are so serious, however, that such advances are not immediately visible to people traveling through the neighborhood.

The North Austin community organizations are still, however, focusing on racial stabilization. Encouraging whites to move in, getting them mortgage money, working with businessmen to help them keep shopping strips attractive, and arm-twisting to get adequate city services are all on their agendas.

There is one small area near the western edge of the community—the original old Austin area—where increased efforts are being made to attract middle-class residents, whatever their color. This is the

area of large frame houses in the Queen Anne style—with turrets, big front porches and the like. Following a clear "development strategy," residents have had their streets made into cul de sacs and have publicized the elegant and self-conscious rehabilitation efforts of new owners. Taking its cue from other threatened communities, the area had its first annual house walk in the spring of 1980 as part of a major effort to market itself.

The walks were guided mainly by whites (although home ownership of the houses on the tour was more equally distributed) who emphasized the area's distinctive architectural heritage. In front of each house selected for the tour stood an exquisitely turned out antique car. Radios in each house were tuned to a local classical music station, although they did not always drown out the rock sounds from neighboring houses. A few local residents sat on their porches offering their houses for sale to the passersby.

Most of the thousand or so people who came to look at the houses were also white. Among them were the many grey heads of people who had fled the community and were coming back for their first look. They spent time with each other reminiscing about who lived where and what they did. Many of them had not returned since the time they left, although they had moved to nearby suburbs—some reported that they were literally physically afraid to.

Efforts to upgrade the Austin Village area have not met with universal acclaim. In fact, the local community oganizations located in the southern two-thirds of the area are opposed, because, in their view, the deconversion (from rooming houses) of these building makes housing more scarce and drives up housing prices, forcing out the poor.

In addition, they claim that most of the promotion is being done by "outsiders," and that local people receive none of the gains. This brief discussion is a preview of some of the arguments which swirl around the questions concerning gentrification. What must be said here is that the amount of low-income housing being lost in this particular case is virtually nothing compared to the massive amounts being lost in Austin through neglect and abandonment.

Despite all the efforts of the community organizations, Austin has continued to deteriorate. Starting from a substantially higher base of housing quality, its levels of deterioration, particularly in the south, are comparable to Back of the Yards. Its level of property abandonment is high, and it cannot claim even one shopping strip up to the quality of Back of the Yards' major one, in spite of efforts of numerous merchant's associations to fight deterioration. Department stores in nearby Oak Park, and the new Brickyard Shopping Center (discussed in the section on Portage Park) represent important counter attractions. It should be added that North Austin residents report that construction of the Brickyard has improved both the quality of their lives and their property values.

In general orientations, Austin residents rank very close to Back of the Yards, and almost always at the bottom of our group. Austin and Back of the Yards residents are tied for last in levels of general satisfaction, and the same large percentages in the two communities think that their neighborhood has gotten worse in the last two years. Although black and white Austinites share the same evaluation on these two items, the whites are slightly more positive than the blacks about the future of the neighborhood with 37 percent saying it will be worse

compared to 46 percent for blacks. But taken together they rank as most pessimistic—tied again with Back of the Yards.

However, Austin residents report more serious neighborhood problems than any other group. A higher percentage of Austinites judge the items in that scale to be serious problems than do Back of the Yards residents on every item except noisy neighbors. Our independent measures of some of these conditions suggest that Austin residents may be either slightly fussier or more depressed than Back of the Yards residents. According to these measures, as indicated above, Back of the Yards is in slightly worse shape than Austin in both structural quality and lawn maintenance. If we consider only South Austin, the ratings are closer, but even then, Back of the Yards appears to be slightly more neglected.

One must be careful about this. A much higher percentage of Austin houses are brick as compared with frame or asphalt-sided (47 percent compared to 31 percent of single-family dwellings; and 82 percent compared to 21 percent of flats). Our data indicate that lack of maintenance in frame buildings shows up sooner than it does in those of brick or stone. On lawn maintenance items, however, such variations should not show up. Even here, though, Austin taken as a whole is in better shape than Back of the Yards. If we include only South Austin for consideration, the two are directly comparable.

The only area in which South Austin is worse in our scoring of deterioration and lack of maintenance than Back of the Yards is in maintenance of what in Chicago are called parkways, the space between the sidewalks and the streets. That difference is relatively large, and may contribute to the observer's general gestalt that Austin is so much more littered than any of our other neighborhoods. The measurement of appearance of neglect is a tricky business. We did our evaluations

by looking with care. The average passerby, by contrast, may with a single sweep of his eye simply react generally to the scene--the components that have value in shaping his determination may differ from those that would be salient if he looked more closely. Litter on parkways may be one of those components. One urban developer with whom we discussed these matters (Grzywinski, personal communication) does believe that litter, more than anything else, determines perception of shopping strip quality.

What is interesting is that many block clubs in Austin display the following sign:

> (Block club's name)
>
> No littering
>
> No car washing in front
>
> No drinking or ball playing
>
> No loud music
>
> No speeding

Clearly, littering is perceived to be a problem in Austin--it is one of those items discussed earlier on which Austin ranks worst. Despite reports of serious neighborhood problems, however, and a generally negative outlook about the neighborhood, Austin residents are not uniformly the lowest on levels of social integration.

At 65.4 percent, twice that of the whites, Austin blacks have more relatives living in the neighborhood than any other group of respondents except the residents of East Side. Blacks report visiting their relatives slightly more frequently than do the whites (see Table 7.1). In both cases, three-quarters of the respondents report that they have friends living in the neighborhood--this places them in the middle of

all neighborhoods in the study. Blacks visit their neighbors somewhat more often than whites do, but both do so with less frequency than respondents in any other neighborhood. The black/white differences in community facility use are much smaller than they are in Back of the Yards, but this is partly because the white levels are so much lower than the white levels elsewhere. The only area in which there is a large discrepancy in local facility use is in church attendance. Here we find what is a typical pattern in both our own communities and elsewhere. Whites attend the local churches. This is partly a consequence of length of residence and partly a consequence of the fact that Roman Catholics usually attend the church where they live. Blacks, by contrast, often attend church in the neighborhood they left behind.

TABLE 7.1

PERCENT REPORTING THAT THEY DO THE FOLLOWING THINGS
ONCE A WEEK OR MORE, BY RACE - AUSTIN

	Race	
	White	Black
Spend a social evening with relatives	39.7	46.9
Spend a social evening with a neighbor	17.6	26.4

Low levels of local facility use, as are characteristic of Austin, present one with a chicken and egg problem--do the facilities vanish first, causing people to stop using them, or do local people stop using them, for whatever reason, causing economic hardship to local shopkeepers who then go out of business or move away. We do know from other data that, income level for income level, blacks in Chicago tend to support local facilities less than whites. This is reflected both in the quality

and quantity of shopping strips within black communities and in the
fact that blacks simply report using them less no matter what the
circumstances. This may result in peculiar patterns. We have seen,
for example, that Beverly's main shopping strip and the large shopping
center adjacent to it are patronized very heavily by blacks, who simply
from their very numbers cannot all be from the community. Informal
interviews with store owners also suggest that they are not local.
Neither of those areas is patronized by the local whites whose residences
surround them.

Our field experiences suggest that blacks often shop outside
their community because they believe that better quality goods are
available in white communities. In addition, blacks are more likely
to patronize heavily advertised name brands,[1] and larger varieties of
such may be available in bigger stores in shopping centers and downtown.
In Austin, although the strips are more deteriorated in the black areas,
none of them has ever been distinguished for the quality and range of
their stores. Department stores and shopping centers are close enough
to Austin that white residents may have always done much of their shopping
elsewhere.

Even though blacks in Austin socialize with their neighbors
a little more than whites do, they seem to be slightly less tightly
integrated in other ways. Although equal proportions report that their
neighbors watch their houses (80 percent) and that they can borrow
$25.00 from their neighbors in an emergency (70 percent), whites are

[1] Indirect confirmation of this comes from a white shopkeeper
on the Beverly strip who reports that his business consists almost
exclusively of selling designer suits to black youth--he claims to have
the largest selection of such items in Illinois.

more likely than blacks (85 percent compared to 70 percent) to be able to
count on a neighbor's help if they were sick.

The overall similarity in orientations as compared to Back of the
Yards is undoubtedly related to the fact that black and white residents
are more similar to each other in basic demographics in Austin than
they are in the other neighborhoods. Although black respondents are
younger than the whites (median ages are 36 and 47, respectively), the
groups have lived in the community for surprisingly similar lengths of
time. The median number of years for blacks is six and for whites it
is nine. This is quite different from Back of the Yards and suggests
that the organizations in North Austin have had some success in luring
new white families into the area.

Blacks, however, are substantially poorer than the whites (see
Table 7.2). The majority of black respondents (51 percent) report
family incomes of less than $10,000, whereas the majority of whites
(54 percent) report family incomes in the $10,000 to $20,000 range.

TABLE 7.2

TOTAL FAMILY INCOME DURING 1978, BY RACE - AUSTIN
(Percent)

	Race	
	White	Black
Less than $10,000	29.5	51.3
$10,000 - $20,000	54.1	32.1
$20,000 - $30,000	13.8	8.3
$30,000 or more	3.3	8.3

A greater proportion of respondents in Austin and Back of the Yards than anywhere else say that they have a lot of crime in their neighborhoods (see Table 7.3). Austin residents are most likely to think that there is a high probability that they will be the victim of crime and to worry about that fact. They are also most likely to worry that their houses will be broken into when they are away from their homes.

TABLE 7.3

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING THAT THERE IS "A LOT" OF CRIME IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD

Austin	12.8
Back of the Yards	12.7
Beverly	3.5
East Side	6.3
Hyde Park/Kenwood	9.8
Lincoln Park	9.5
Portage Park	3.5
South Shore	11.7

Our victimization self-reports indicate that this degree of concern may be justified. With 14.4 percent of respondents reporting that they or someone in their household had been the victim of robbery, assault, or rape during the past year, Austin ranks first among the eight neighborhoods on level of personal victimization. It ranks second on property crime victimization, behind Lincoln Park, with almost 25 percent of respondents reporting this type of victimization during the preceding year.

Austin fares somewhat better if one considers police reports. Here, Austin ranks second to South Shore on personal crime (16 per 1,000 population compared to 17.4), and even lower on property crime. Overall,

however, Austin is clearly a high crime neighborhood, and the survey responses are consistent with this fact.

The crime problem is compounded by an acute sense that the police do not provide much help. Prostitution, for example, is a major problem that does not show up in reports of crime rates or in our victimization data. Yet, it is endemic in some areas.

One informant (a home owner, who, in opposition to most community organizers, hopes that a contemplated city highway will slash through the community thereby taking his home which he is unable to sell) reported that his street was daily covered by street walkers and their pimps. This was so much so that the neighborhood children were able to quote prices of a whole range of sexual services. A block club was formed which met with local police officials. Officials informed them that they could drive out the prostitutes if the block and the police worked together. Much of the sexual activity, this respondent said, was covert. But one evening he looked out his window to see a couple taking off their clothes in a car and quite visibly practicing intercourse. He called the police emergency number to complain and was told that there were no cars available to deal with the complaint. He was told to call his local district. There he was told the same thing. He has since given up.

A black man himself, he points out that many of the prostitute's customers are white, and that, somehow, adds insult to injury.

Austinites are less willing than Back of the Yards residents to see race at the root of their problems. Austin ranks third after Back of the Yards and East Side in agreeing with the statement that when blacks move in, crimes go up; and ranks fourth after Back of the

Yards, East Side and Portage Park in agreeing with the statement that
when blacks move in, property values go down. It should be added,
however, that more than half of all Austinites still believe the presence
of black families in the neighborhood adversely affects property values,
and 40.5 percent believe that as blacks move into the neighborhood,
crime increases.

In short, Austin, like Back of the Yards, is an acutely depressed
area. High in crime, low in most other measures of neighborhood quality,
it is close to being the very model, at least in its southern two-thirds,
of the deteriorated urban area.

CHAPTER 8

SOUTH SHORE

When we move to consideration of South Shore, we move from the
world of low-rise, relatively low density housing where conjugal families
and home ownership are prevalent to the world in which high-rise dwellings
are common, singles make up a larger proportion of the populations and
renting is clearly the dominant mode. South Shore, as we shall see,
in fact, displays an enormous range of housing types, family types and
incomes. In this sense, it resembles some of the other lakefront com-
munities we shall be considering.

South Shore got its start as a residential community relatively
late. Its first burst of development came with the opening of the
Illinois Central Railroad South Shore line in 1883 and was fueled by
the Columbian Exposition of 1893 (located just north of South Shore),
when increased railroad traffic encouraged the development of a rail
yard and homes for railroad employees. Nonetheless, construction proceeded
with little vigor through the 90s. "The dawn of the twentieth century
came and still nearly all of this South Shore community . . . remained
vacant." (Hoyt, 1942, p. 42). The area's primary growth took place
between 1910 and 1930 when its population grew from 7,702 to 78,755.
Although there has been some decline, the population has remained more
or less stable since.

South Shore never really succeeded as a wealthy lakefront
community. Homer Hoyt, the developer of the sector theory of urban
growth, explains the situation this way.

High grade residential areas tend to move out from the center
of the city in different sectors, and the attractiveness of the
Gold Coast (north of the loop) is enhanced by the fact that there

JACKSON PARK

SOUTH
SHORE

N
↑

LAKE MICHIGAN

SOUTH SHORE COUNTRY CLUB

YACHT HARBOR

BEACH

RAINBOW PARK

Filtration Plant

WOODLAWN

GREATER GRAND CR.

SOUTH SHORE

AVALON PARK

SOUTH CHICAGO

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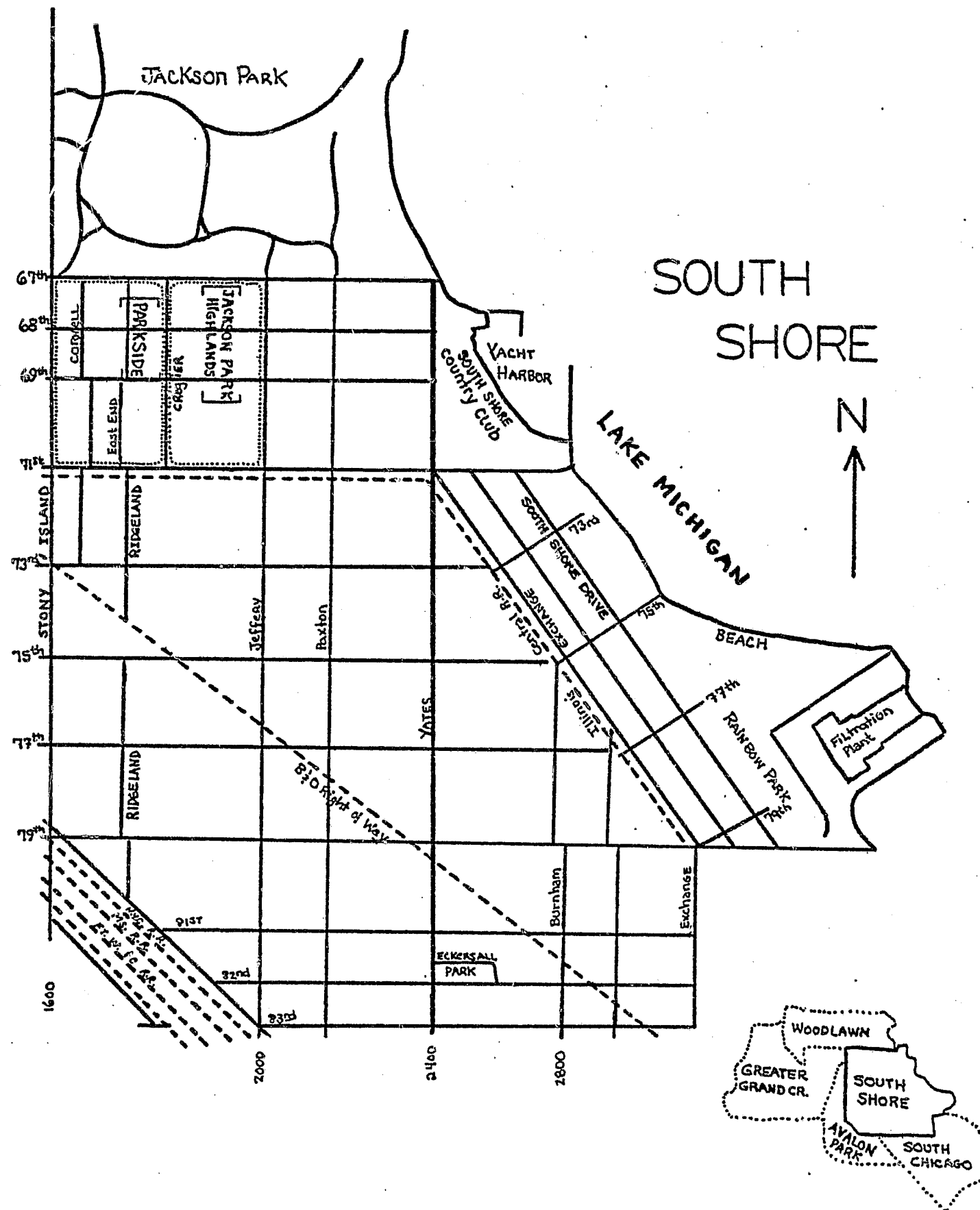
was a free open end to the north toward which the march of the socially elite could move without interruption. On the other hand, the southeastward movement of the fashionable area of the South Side . . . to the South Shore district . . . struck the barrier of the steel mills. . . . Hemmed in between Jackson Park on the north, and industrial areas to the south of 79th Street, the expansion of the South Shore district along the lake was barred. Consequently the path of growth . . . was bent to the right along the axis of 79th Street and impetus was given to the further expansion of high grade homes to the southwest in Beverly Hills (Hoyt, p. 41).

South Shore did, however, enter the 1950s as a moderately prosperous, almost exclusively residential community with an incredible variety of basically well-maintained housing stock. Large elegant houses of the sort found in Beverly, small frame houses characteristic of Back of the Yards and the older sections of East Side, two flats like those in South Austin, brick bungalows virtually identical to those in Portage Park, and high-rise buildings common in Hyde Park and still more so in Lincoln Park all could be found.[1]

Hoyt described South Shore as "one of the best examples of a so-called 'stable area'." With a beautiful, wooded park with its own beach to the north; an elegant country club (excluding Jews and Blacks) to the northeast; the eight-block long Rainbow Beach Park directly to the east; excellent shopping centers, fine schools, and fast transportation to the loop; "its advantages cannot be duplicated in the aggregate in any other community" (p. 43).

The South Shore is a community where the folly of the practice of migrating from older neighborhoods to new ones every generation can be strikingly demonstrated. There is no second South Shore lying along the lake front just beyond this community. A new residential

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[1]Although extensive area is given over to its almost 3,000 single family houses, they are only 10 percent of its 30,000 dwelling units. Once one leaves the lake front high-rise area, South Shore feels very much more like a region of single family homes than it really is. In fact, in meeting with community groups there, the one fact we report that consistently meets with disagreement from the audience is the small proportion of the population that lives in those single family houses.

area on the periphery of Chicago would be far from the cooling breezes,
bathing beaches, and yachting of the lake and it would be a long way
from the great parks, shopping centers, and the frequent and quick
transportation to the loop. . . . Hence, conservation plans should be
designed for this South Shore district far in advance of the need for
their actual application, so that any idea of abandoning this choice
residential location in favor of what might appear to be greener
pastures in the suburbs will never be seriously entertained (p. 43).

Hoyt was not alone in his concern—the implications of South Shore's
location in the path of black residential expansion were not lost on com-
munity residents. Blacks began to move into the community from adjacent
Woodlawn about the same time that blacks entered South Austin and, in the
mid-1960s, racial change began in earnest. As should by now be predictable,
a community organization arose prior to black entry into South Shore to
deal with the issues which that process would generate.

The South Shore Commission was founded in 1954 by local clergymen.
Whether its initial goal was the prevention of black in-migration or
the promotion of orderly integration is difficult to tell. Molotch
(1972) reports that factions representing both positions were present from
the beginning, although the integrationists prevailed as blacks moved into
the community in ever increasing numbers.

The Commission's strategy included components we have already
seen. They maintained a housing referral service which attempted to
widely distribute both blacks and whites to prevent resegregation and
to screen out "undesirable" black tenants. In addition, intensive
efforts were made to keep South Shore attractive to whites. These
included increased pressure on the police department for more patrols
in order to reduce the rising crime rate. The crime problem was com-
plicated by the fact that the city's most famous youth gang, the Black-
stone Rangers, considered part of South Shore its turf. Efforts were

made to discourage the gang, particularly in the schools, and residents
organized evening radio patrols to report crimes in progress.

The schools were also a focus of activity. The district bound-
aries were redrawn to increase the proportion of whites, and a new high
school was constructed. As was true in Austin, the schools changed
racially at a faster rate than did the community as a whole. This was
partly because the resident population was older than the newcomers
and hence often no longer had young children. In addition, many of
the whites with children sent them to Roman Catholic and other private
schools.

At a later stage in the process, a "magnet school" was constructed
which required application for admission. This school was supposed
to have better pupil-teacher ratios and the latest approaches to enriched
education. It was also established that the black/white ratio would
be held at 50:50. Over time, this provision became a source of irritation
to blacks as their children came to be a larger and larger proportion
of the applicants. Places were selected by lottery among those qualified,
and a much smaller proportion of blacks than of whites were admitted.

Just as Beverly continues to do on a regular basis and as Austin
Village has just begun, South Shore residents instituted an Open House
Day in which sample houses were opened to all and guided tours were
conducted throughout the community.

None of those efforts, however, seemed to have any impact on
the process of change. Those things which made the community attractive
to whites also made it attractive to blacks who, because of discrimination,
had fewer choices. In the late 1960s, some of the remaining white leader-
ship invited in officials of a well-known real estate consulting firm

to tell them about the future of South Shore. That firm, according to one informant, had developed the technique of taking "recess photos," that is, pictures of school yards during recess. If these school yards looked predominantly black, the company would report that the community was all washed up. In the case of South Shore, the photos led to that conclusion. At this point, some of the white leadership gave up and moved away.

Racial change in South Shore was accompanied by many of the processes we have already discussed. Many of the large airy apartments were subdivided and their buildings undermaintained; the crime rate soared from less than the city-wide average to more than twice that rate. Redlining became a real problem, and property appreciation flattened out.

It is ironic that one famous article on the process of racial change (Karlen, 1968), which is widely quoted and based on South Shore data, demonstrates that whites do not flee an area and that property values do not decline. Instead, Karlen argues, blacks replace the whites who would move away anyway, and because their own housing is in short supply, they pay a good price. That article describes South Shore in the early 1960s. Property sales went up dramatically in the second half of the decade, and property values compared to white areas of the city stagnated. In addition, a close look at property values suggests that prices were discounted long in advance—observers knew that racial change was coming. Whites did flee South Shore, and although some moved to Hyde Park and some moved to Beverly, most of them probably did leave the city for the beckoning suburbs, referred to by Hoyt.[2]

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[2] It would be difficult to estimate how many whites did pass through South Shore between the close of the Second World War and 1970, but the numbers must have been large. If one estimates an annual turnover

Parkside, the area of South Shore into which blacks from neighboring Woodlawn first moved, quickly evidenced deterioration. Overall, however, housing deterioration and abandonment did not progress as rapidly in South Shore as it did in Austin. In the Parkside case, the process was abetted by the fact that much of the area was identified as an urban renewal area. In that situation, both landlords and home-owners lose incentive to maintain their homes because, under the eminent domain provision associated with urban renewal, the government pays the same prices for buildings regardless of condition. Unfortunately, the renewal of Parkside never did get completed—in time, the deterioration was too advanced to correct. Much of the other housing in the community, however, remained in decent shape.

Today, with the exception of the Jackson Park Highlands—an area of approximately 300 unusually large single-family houses—which is still integrated, South Shore is mainly a black community. Reflecting the range of housing available, it is a socially complicated place. If we divide incomes into below $10,000, between $10,000 and $20,000 and above $20,000, South Shore respondents are distributed into roughly equal thirds. Nearly 11 percent report family incomes of more than $30,000 which places South Shore equal to or higher than not only Austin and Back of the Yards, but also Portage Park and East Side in that category. Yet, its poverty group is larger than those of the latter two neighborhoods. A similar pattern is reflected in educational levels. A substantially higher proportion of South Shore residents than of those in these other four communities have more than a high school education; however, the

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of about ten percent, the number would be 200,000. One of our white field workers, meeting a present day black South Shore resident outside of the neighborhood and expressing strong interest in the area, was asked with a faintly irritated tone, "And when did _you_ live in South Shore?"

percentage with less than a high school education is sizeable (see Table 8.1).
South Shore is more of a white-collar community than the other four,
with proportionately more people in professional and managerial positions.

TABLE 8.1

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT - ALL NEIGHBORHOODS

(Percent)

Neighborhood	Less than High School	High School	More than High School
Austin	28.0	53.7	18.3
Back of the Yards	43.1	49.4	7.5
Beverly	5.7	45.0	49.3
East Side	28.6	58.7	12.6
Hyde Park/Kenwood	5.1	26.2	68.7
Lincoln Park	8.0	28.2	63.8
Portage Park	22.1	56.5	21.4
South Shore	16.9	50.8	32.3

Like Austin, South Shore is a community of relative newcomers.
Median length of residence is six years, and median age is 36. Levels
of social integration appear to be similar also. Almost three-quarters
of South Shore respondents could get help from their neighbors if
they were sick. Two-thirds could borrow money from their neighbors,
and 83 percent say that they can count on their neighbors to keep an
eye on their house.

Fifty-three percent of our South Shore respondents report they
have relatives living in the neighborhood, which is comparable to or
more than everywhere else except East Side. And 72 percent, a figure

which places them in the lower half, report that they have good friends
there. They visit relatives and neighbors with less frequency than
most and visit friends who live outside the neighborhood more often
than most.

South Shore residents make relatively little use of neighborhood
facilities. They are less likely than anybody else to buy their clothes,
go to restaurants, do their banking, or attend church there, and only
Austinites are less likely to buy groceries in the neighborhood. There
is a growing body of literature, including a paper by one of us, which
emphasizes that community members can work effectively even when not
tightly bound together on other bases (Taub, et al., 1977; Wellman, 1979).
Our paper was based on previously collected South Shore data. As we
shall see, that pattern continues to hold as South Shore illustrates
an almost classic case.

South Shore is a high crime area by whatever standards one uses.
According to police crime reports, it is highest in personal crime at
17.42 per thousand, followed by Austin at 15.99 and Hyde Park/Kenwood
at 13.45. No other community is in the double digits although Back
of the Yards comes close. In property crime, South Shore runs second
to Hyde Park/Kenwood and is followed by Lincoln Park and Austin. For
total crime, South Shore and Hyde Park/Kenwood run neck and neck followed
by Austin and Lincoln Park.

When we turn to victimization self-reports, the orders change
a little, but the basic picture remains. On personal crime, South Shore
runs third behind Austin and Back of the Yards. In property crime,
it is third after Austin and Lincoln Park, and in total crime, which
includes vandalism, it ranks first.

In terms of our deterioration measures, South Shore is comparable to the other high crime neighborhoods. Its proportion of apparent structural flaws places it fourth after Back of the Yards, Austin, and Lincoln Park. Its lawn maintenance problems place it second behind Back of the Yards (although South Austin ranks higher). And its lack of parkway maintenance ranks it first (although, again, South Austin is higher).

South Shore's shopping strips are also in a deteriorated state. Its major strip referred to by Hoyt was once the luxury shopping area for the entire southeast side of the city. Today with vacant stores and lots constituting around 20 percent of the total frontage, its shopping areas are tied with Austin's for most deteriorated on this dimension. They rank second to Austin in numbers of broken windows and in number of empty beer cans and liquor bottles strewn about, and third behind Austin and Back of the Yards in quantities of litter.

Nonetheless, on other indicators, South Shore fares better than our first two high crime communities. Property appreciation, after a period of stagnation, has begun to improve. Although it was initially classified by us as a low appreciating neighborhood, its 1973-78 rate of growth of 96 percent in unadjusted dollars puts it ahead of low crime East Side with a rate of 64 percent, makes it comparable to low crime Portage Park with a rate of 95 percent, and ranks it just behind low crime Beverly with a rate of 113 percent. Its appreciation rate is nearly five times as high as Back of the Yards and almost twice as high as Austin.

South Shore's higher rate of appreciation relative to that of the latter two communities is echoed in the responses to the survey question asking whether a family buying a house in the neighborhood would be making a good financial investment—60 percent of South Shore respondents compared

to about 46 percent in Austin and Back of the Yards reported that the hypothetical family would be making a good investment.

Asked how the neighborhood will change in the next two years, 35.8 percent of South Shore residents say it will get better. This is the highest proportion in any area but Lincoln Park (51 percent). If we combine "better" and "about the same", South Shore does rank third from the bottom, but its 70.9 percent is well ahead of Austin and Back of the Yards with 56.8 and 54.8 percent, respectively.

In short, for a community so high in crime and deterioration, South Shore seems to be doing rather well in both property appreciation and optimism relative to its most comparable communities, Austin and Back of the Yards. In this difference lie several important facts. For example, there is abundant evidence that redlining continues to be a serious problem in Austin (we have no comparable information for Back of the Yards). By contrast, the flow of investment funds into the South Shore community, although almost cut off at one point, has once again been turned on, partly by virtue of community effort.

One institution sharing the general level of prosperity in South Shore during the 1950s was the South Shore National Bank. During the period of racial change, deposits began to flow out of the bank as departing residents took their money with them. Other banks began to reduce their mortgage activity, and the South Shore Bank did the same until it was no longer giving any new mortgages. Just as many of the store owners left the community or moved their stores elsewhere, the bank tried to do the same. In order to sell the bank, its owners proposed to move it downtown. In Chicago's changing communities, banks have often closed or left the area they historically served.

However, banks must secure permission from regulatory agencies to

make such a move. When a public hearing was initiated to determine whether or not the bank should be permitted to leave the neighborhood, the South Shore Commission mobilized testimony against the move. It should be noted that the same well-known real estate research corporation that had explained to South Shore's leaders that the community was finished also testified on the bank's behalf, explaining that it could not survive in South Shore.

However, after much testimony and some political activity, the Comptroller of the Currency decided that the bank should remain in the community. They judged that the bank was viable, and that its move would be a threat to the health of the community.

At about that time, a group that had practiced and succeeded at minority lending in nearby Hyde Park proposed to buy the bank with funds both of their own and of socially-conscious investors. That was in 1973. In 1981, the bank is still doing business, its deposits substantially augmented.

The story of the bank's aggressive lending policies and its skills at attracting other investors to the area is too long to be told here (see Taub, forthcoming). However, there has been a growing flow of both public and private investment funds into the area. Even the city, which had, just as Austin and Back of the Yards residents suspected, lost confidence in the community after racial change, in 1980 announced a program to improve conditions along one of South Shore's shopping strips. And the South Shore Bank, along with the city's second largest bank, announced in 1980 the start of a 25 million dollar housing rehabilitation project in the Parkside area.

South Shore community organizational activity has also been noteworthy in other areas. Where Austin continues to be plagued by prostitution, South Shore campaigners were able to get one motel and one apartment building torn

down and another building closed by the city, all of which were sites of prostitute activity (Some have argued that residents are simply chasing the prostitutes from building to building.).

The City of Chicago has a little-used law on its books which enables voting precincts to vote themselves dry. The organizational feat to achieve this is substantial, partly because of the complexities involved in getting the question on the ballot and partly because tavern owners are politically well-connected. In South Shore, ten precincts were able to vote themselves dry and drive away taverns.

Third, residents were able to protect the elegant buildings of the old South Shore Country Club when the club was sold to the Park District. Park District plans included replacing the building with a cement block field house and the golf course with a pitch-and-putt course. After a prolonged conflict, the Park District agreed to maintain the major structures and to make no other changes without community participation.

This is not to suggest that South Shore is no longer threatened with decline. Its problems are still of substantial proportions. Nevertheless, the flow of investment funds gives the community the possibility of survival even in the face of racial change. As we shall see, this is even more true of the two high crime communities yet to be discussed, although each of them contains substantial minority populations.

Although South Shore respondents predict a better future for their community than do those in the other low appreciation, high crime areas, their perceptions of their community are still largely negative and, in that sense, like the others. In overall satisfaction, they are tied for last with Austin, and very close to Back of the Yards. On our list of neighborhood problems, South Shore ranks second, between Austin and Back of the Yards. The biggest differences between South Shore and Back of the Yards are in

problems with dogs and problems with street crimes (see Table 8.2).

TABLE 8.2

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING THE FOLLOWING TO BE A BIG PROBLEM
OR SOMEWHAT OF A PROBLEM IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD [a]

	South Shore	Back of the Yards
Noisy neighbors	33.8	34.3
Dog nuisances	62.8	43.0
Garbage, litter	55.0	55.8
Poor care of lawns, property	42.8	38.7
People who hassle others	22.4	23.7
Landlords who don't care	41.4	34.8
Street crimes	53.8	42.9
Drugs and drug users	48.1	43.1
Abandoned buildings	36.1	31.8
Vacant lots	28.4	31.0

a) See page 71 for exact wording of items.

The difference on the dogs item is interesting in view of the fact that a larger proportion of respondents in Back of the Yards than in South Shore (42.7 percent compared to 25.3 percent) report keeping a watchdog for protection. (South Shore residents, conversely, are much more likely to keep guns or other weapons.) Thus, in Back of the Yards, something such as more concern for the neighborhood or more informal social control may be operating.

The disparity in perceptions of levels of street crime is intriguing. Respondents in the two communities complain equally about youth standing on street corners and saying insulting things. That item and street crimes correlate at .67 in Back of the Yards and at .61 in South Shore. On the basis of victimization reports, personal crime levels in both communities

are about the same. It will take additional analysis to attempt to understand why Back of the Yards residents report street crimes to be less of a problem.

South Shore residents do perceive that they have a lot of crime. In response to the question concerning the amount of crime in the neighborhood, South Shore ranks just behind Austin and Back of the Yards if we consider only the answer "a lot of crime". If we combine that with "some crime", South Shore is tied for first place with Lincoln Park. On the perception of the likelihood of being a victim, South Shore residents fall in again just behind Austin and Back of the Yards.

Finally, we should add that South Shore residents are less ready to attribute a community's misfortunes to racial change than are the black residents in Austin and in Back of the Yards. On our items concerning race and crime and neighborhood change, South Shore ranks fifth. Austin, Back of the Yards, Portage Park and East Side all rank higher.

In summary, South Shore begins to provide a hint that high crime and racial change do not necessarily lead to deterioration. Instead, they may have some impact on attitudes toward the community and the consequent flow of capital. Where the capital flow continues, the picture may be altered.

We will now turn to our final two high crime cases, Hyde Park/Kenwood and Lincoln Park. Both have measurable black populations, and each in its own way is thriving.

CHAPTER 9

HYDE PARK/KENWOOD

Hyde Park/Kenwood is the home of the University of Chicago.
Stable and racially integrated, it is also the site of the most massive
level of organized and planned investment of any of our communities.
Today, although a high-crime neighborhood by most of our measures, it
is among the least deteriorated and best maintained. Consistent demand
for its properties coupled with the growth of condominium conversion
have led to high rates of property appreciation and new levels of investment.

Although Hyde Park and Kenwood began their lives as separate
communities, developments at many points in their histories bound them
together. Each, for example, owed its early growth to the extension
of the Illinois Central Railroad south along Chicago's lakefront. The
extension itself was promoted by entrepreneurs Stephen Douglas (more
famous for his role in debates with Abraham Lincoln), who wanted to promote
his own property about three miles north of Hyde Park, and Paul Cornell,
who as Hyde Park's major developer for many years, gave the I.C. land
for its right of way in order to bring it into the community.

There have been other linkages. Hyde Park residents, who always
have been an independent-minded group, voted themselves and Kenwood
residents out of the Township of Lake and into their own separate township
in 1861. When a growing population began to place a burden on local
resources, the Township of Hyde Park voted to join the city of Chicago
in 1889. Similarly, it was Paul Cornell's efforts as a lobbyist for
the development of a South Park's system which led to the growth of south
side parks, parks which enhanced Kenwood's elegance by providing suitable
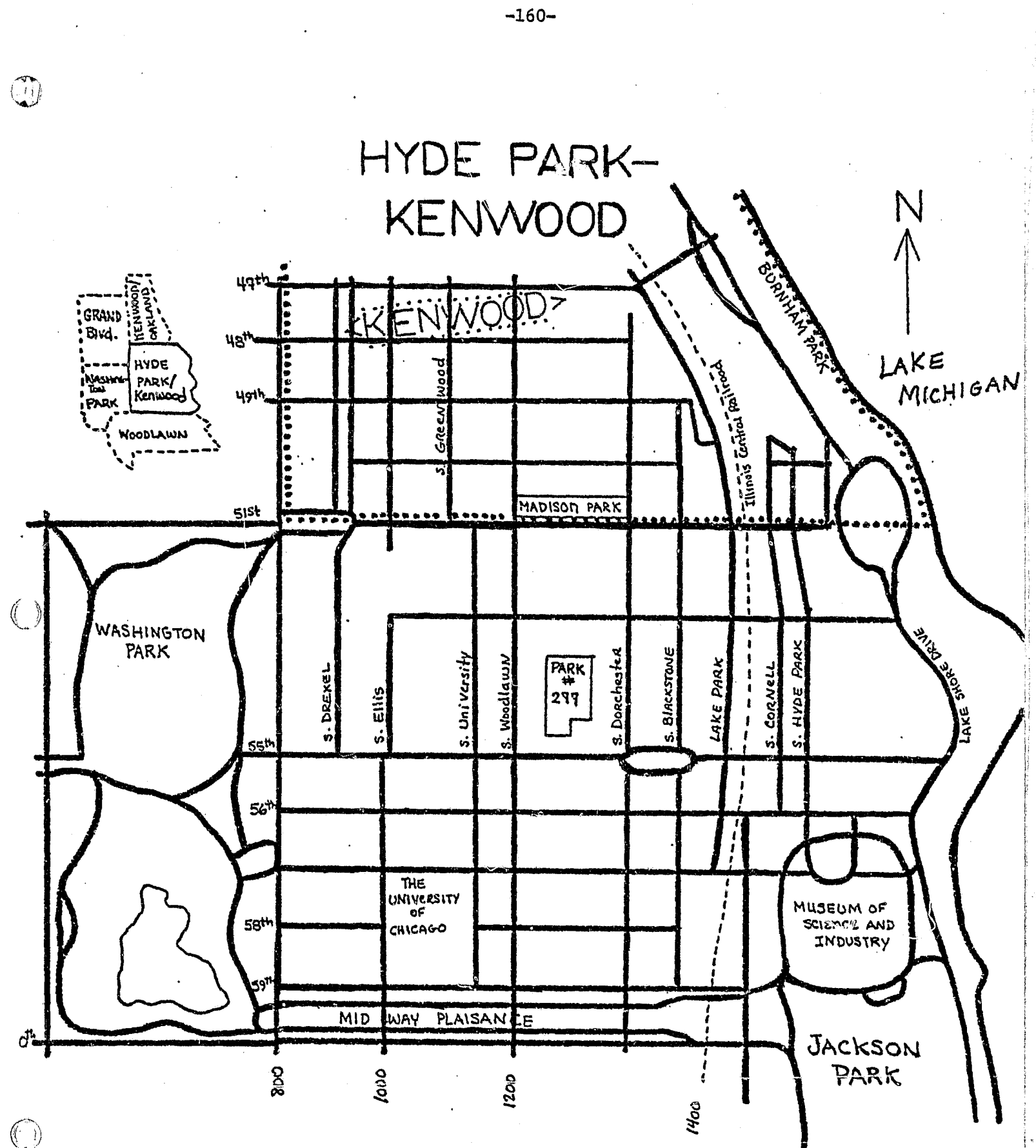
HYDE PARK-
KENWOOD

venues for the carriages of Kenwood residents. Finally, the location of the World's Fair in Jackson Park increased enormously the traffic on the Illinois Central Line, making Kenwood as well as Hyde Park more accessible.

Kenwood got its start as an aristocratic suburb of large homes on large estates. The first suburban settler was Dr. John A. Kennicott for whom the area was named. The early residents of Kenwood included "wealthy stockyard executives" (see Chapter 1, page 26) and other members of fashionable families moving southward (Holt and Pacyga, 1979, p. 92).

However, the sense of isolation from the city and the luxuriousness that that provided were not to last. In 1910, elevated rapid transit lines came into the community bringing with them much less fashionable white-collar workers from the Loop. The pattern described in Chapter 1 began to appear. Wealthier families began to move away, larger lots were sub-divided, and new apartment buildings were constructed, particularly along train and streetcar lines, to accommodate the new residents.

Although at that time the southern border of the Kenwood community was 51st Street, most of the new apartment and small house construction during this period stopped at 47th Street. Thus, 47th Street, although internal to the community, increasingly became a boundary between less intensive and more intensive uses of land. The area south of 47th Sreet maintained many of its big houses and, with new apartment dwellings constructed primarily along the lakefront, became the home of some of Chicago's prominent German Jews.

Population growth leveled off for all of Kenwood during the 1930s, but began again during the Second World War when it became home to a small Japanese community. After the war, the black population, which

had grown enormously and had been crowded into Chicago's historic "black belt," entered the community from the north and the west. Racial change, accompanied by a fresh spurt of sub-division, was rapid—by 1960, the area north of 47th Street was mostly black. Although many of the large houses south of 47th Street were still standing, they too were increasingly being sub-divided. However, by that time, South Kenwood's fate had become more and more linked to that of Hyde Park; in the early 1950s it became part of what was called the Hyde Park/Kenwood Conservation Area. The northern half of Kenwood came to be associated with Oakland, the community north of it, so that today, the entire area is referred to as Kenwood/ Oakland. Chicago's community area maps still show one Kenwood, but for realistic descriptive purposes, most commentators distinguish between Kenwood A and Kenwood B, or between North and South Kenwood.

Meanwhile, Hyde Park was developing in its own distinctive direction. It evolved as a pleasant suburban community with smaller houses on smaller lots than those in Kenwood, and with growing numbers of apartment buildings.

The World's Fair had a profound impact on the growth of Hyde Park. Its anticipated presence encouraged developers to build smaller apartment houses, hotels, and other dwellings to house people attracted to the community by the fair. In addition, a new, relatively low quality commercial center grew up near the World's Fair site. The community became bounded on the south by a wide parkway with a channel through its center which was supposed to become a Venetian canal.

After the fair, most of the buildings designed to be temporary were demolished, leaving behind both parks and waterways as well as Chicago's most popular tourist attraction, the Museum of Science and Industry.

The City White had fled the earth
But where the azure waters lie
A nobler city had its birth
The City Gray that ne're shall die. (Hoyt, 1942, p. 38)

Adjacent to the World's Fair site grew up the University of Chicago, ultimately covering about 25 square blocks, and bordered by single family houses for the faculty. Its own campus "in the front rank of civic art" (Condit, 1973, p. 14), it constituted a distinctive and attractive community.

By 1920, Hyde Park was fully built up. The Irish were the leading nationality, followed by German and Russian Jews (LCFB).

Blacks began to move into Hyde Park in the 1940s, and the pace accelerated during the 1950s. By 1960, blacks constituted 30 percent of the population. In the by now familiar pattern, white residents began to flee, landlords undermaintained buildings, and crime became increasingly a problem.

Because of low rents associated with a soft housing market, economic weakness in the commercial strip, and the attractions of the University, Hyde Park did become something of an artistic center, attracting both painters and craftsmen to the area. Its growing numbers of bars and nightclubs also became an important source of vitality and entertainment.

Between 1950 and 1956, 20,000 whites left the community and 25,000 blacks moved in. Hyde Park had had a small number of black residents before this, but there had also been some economic homogeneity. At this point, however, the blacks moving in were mainly of substantially lower income levels.

As Hoyt had written in 1942 about Hyde Park/Kenwood,

. . . in the next ring of growth beyond the inner core of Old Chicago
. . . a constant struggle is going on to preserve a community form
and structure from the infiltration of blight from the broken down
and disintegrated sections of the old city (p. 37).

As part of that struggle, Hyde Park/Kenwood was organized.

Led by a group of ministers, Hyde Parkers, concerned that their area would follow in the footsteps of the communities to the north and become a slum, in 1949 organized the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference to deal with the issue of urban renewal. The same pattern of hardliners and integrationists we have seen in Austin, South Shore and Beverly also evolved in Hyde Park/Kenwood when the University of Chicago established the South East Chicago Commission in 1952.

Hardliners sound like exclusionists when the number of blacks in the community is small. Generally, at each step in the process of black in-migration, they are committed to slowing the process or choking it off altogether. To the extent that blacks do enter the community, the hardliners are committed to restricting the movement as much as possible to higher income levels. The integrationists, in this case represented by the Conference, were more concerned about finding adequate housing for the poor. They were, in general, less willing to take draconic measures to alter the course of events because of concern that some of the weaker members of the community would be harmed. One should add that many of the hardliners saw themselves as the ultimate in pragmatic integrationists (although, in fact, until recently some of Hyde Park/Kenwood's wealthy cooperatively-owned buildings still were excluding blacks). They argued that it was impossible to maintain an integrated community which is hetero-geneous on class. If large numbers of poor blacks enter the community, the argument goes, the whites will continue to flee. A well-known comedian has characterized Hyde Park/Kenwood, in fact, as "Black and white together . . . shoulder to shoulder against the poor."

At the center of everybody's agenda was the development of an urban renewal program which would rid the area of its most deteriorated housing. Differences arose about whether new construction on the land so cleared should be subsidized in some form or should operate at market rate, with the group aligned with the South East Chicago Commission in favor of market rate housing. Hyde Park being the kind of community in which independent politics and independent thought are defined as virtues, such fights were long and vociferous. Similar arguments arose as to whether the existing Hyde Park High School should be refurbished or whether because it also served the deteriorating Woodlawn community to the south, a new high school should be built in Kenwood. The latter is what finally happened. Some version of that quarrel was replayed again and again. Although some low-income housing was built in the community, those in favor of emphasizing the middle-class orientation of the community usually won. In some cases where there had been proposals for low-income subsidized housing, nothing was built at all.

Ultimately, more than 30 million dollars of federal funds, as well as more than 30 million dollars of the University's endowment, were spent on urban renewal, following a plan developed by the University. These funds in turn generated another 90 million dollars of investment. More than 47 acres were cleared, including both the area's most blighted buildings and those commercial strips which housed numerous taverns. These were replaced with town houses and a shopping center. Some of the displaced businessmen organized to construct their own small shopping center. Others in the community, concerned about the displacement of craftsmen, established a shopping center with subsidized rents to house some of them.

Even today, there are vacant lots where no new use has been approved. In 1979, one large vacant area along the 47th Street border, which had originally been designated for subsidized housing, was converted into a large private tennis club. The club also closes off two through-streets heading into North Kenwood, completing a pattern which included the construction of cul de sacs and one-way streets in order to discourage through traffic.

The University has continued to be involved in the real estate market independent of urban renewal. This has sometimes meant the purchase of marginal buildings or buildings threatened with deterioration, and the conversion of them into student or faculty housing.

Simultaneously, the South East Chicago Commission has continued both to vigorously pursue code enforcement and to encourage private entre-preneurs to purchase buildings and rehabilitate them. In some cases, the Commission has assisted in purchasing deteriorated buildings and tearing them down.

Other efforts have been made in this 25-year period to shore up the housing market. In the 1950s, the citizens of Kenwood organized an Open House Committee, which began conducting tours of the large elegant old houses which had not yet been converted to rooming houses. Simulta-neously, they began vigorous enforcement of R-1 zoning, forcing house owners to deconvert. In addition, they offered prizes to private citizens who deconverted rooming houses and made them into attractive single family houses.

During this period, much of Hyde Park/Kenwood was effectively redlined. A federal savings and loan association was created to provide mortgage money to new purchasers of Hyde Park and Kenwood housing. In

addition, the University encouraged faculty to live in the area--approxi-mately 70 percent now do--and, as an incentive, provided low-cost second mortgages.

Residents and the University have also been involved with the schools. There have been tutorial and other specialized programs to bring supplementary funds into the schools for educational enrichment. One elementary school consistently scores in the top group citywide in reading and math, and another is often not far behind. A local newspaper reports that Kenwood High School produced more National Merit semi-finalists in the 1980-81 academic year than any other public school in Illinois. There is constant effort to provide enrichment in that school's curriculum as well. Finally, the University's own private school provides an alternative for those who wish to avoid the public ones.

It was crime and fear of crime that finally brought the University into direct rather than passive action in the community. The robbery and attempted rape of a faculty wife started the committee which led to the formation of the South East Chicago Commission in 1952 (Rossi and Dentler, 1961). During the period prior to this, it had become more and more difficult for the University to attract both students and faculty because the area was considered so unsavory; under these pressures, consideration was given to relocating the University in a suburban location. Crime continues to be a major concern of the South East Chicago Commission, the University of Chicago and the Hyde Park/Kenwood Community Conference.

To combat crime and alleviate community anxiety, the University assembled a very large private security force. In addition to protecting University property, that force, consisting of 80-90 people including supervisors and having a budget in excess of two million dollars, actively

patrols the area. One of their goals is to establish a visible presence. Their radios communicate with the Chicago Police Department's, and exten-sive cooperation is involved in their efforts. The University has also installed white emergency telephones throughout the area. Simply taking the phone off the hook leads to the dispatch of a car to the location of the phone.

The University also deals with crime and the fear of it more indirectly. It operates a fleet of buses which travel around the community both during the day and at night. This means that people need not walk the streets either during the day or, more importantly, at night.

Also working very closely with the police department, the South East Chicago Commission attempts to reduce crime. The Commission plots crimes carefully on maps, locating problem areas which then become targets for police patrolling and intensive examination for code enforcement. It also offers rewards for information concerning crimes, works with witnesses to encourage them to appear in court, and provides free legal services to victims of crime. These activities are particularly impor-tant, because witnesses have often been reluctant to come forward, and because Commission lawyers can vigorously pursue cases in the courts; seeing to it that they are not dropped, getting witnesses to the trial after repeated continuances, and resisting reduced sentences through plea bargaining.

In all of these endeavors--crime reduction, code enforcement, urban renewal and other urban services--the University and the South East Chicago Commission have worked very closely with city government. One of the interesting peculiarities of the Hyde Park/Kenwood situation is that although the University and the city have been able to work closely

together, the community itself is a bastion of liberal politics, always returning an independent alderman who is usually an irritant to the "organization." City officials often go so far as to designate Hyde Park as ungrateful, because, in spite of the resources turned over to the community for urban renewal and the generally high level of city services, Hyde Park continues to vote against them.

The Hyde Park/Kenwood Community Conference has also been involved in anti-crime activity. The activities selected by them are those suitable for an organization without much power and which, at least in principle, represents all the people. Project Whistlestop, in which citizens blow their whistles when they see a crime in progress and others call the police when they hear whistles, has been the Conference's most successful effort to date. At one time, wide distribution of whistles was achieved, and some crimes were prevented and some criminals apprehended because of their use. However, given the high turnover of residents, a program like this one requires continued publicity and community-wide efforts at consciousness-raising to continue to succeed. The Conference has fallen on hard times and does not have the resources to maintain the necessary level of interest (although the University has in some measure picked up the support of the program). In addition, the project never fared well with the poor and black in the community. There is even some question about whether the whistles actually reduce crime. It may be that, like the sodium lights the city installed to reduce crime (and which many members of the Conference fought on the grounds that the lights kill young trees by misleading them about the length of the day and hence the season), the whistles make people feel more secure, although they do not lead to a crime reduction.

The Conference also promoted Operation Identification, whereby an identifying number is engraved on valuables; a safe homes program, where signs in house windows indicate to a harassed child that a concerned parent is at home; and block club meetings to discuss what to do about crime. More Hyde Park residents are aware of community anti-crime programs in their neighborhood than are residents in any other community.

The crime issue is closely tied to race in Hyde Park. Long a community with a reputation for liberality, Hyde Park has long been an area of choice for middle and upper-income blacks. It has also been an enclave, for it is a racially mixed area in the heart of the black south side. The neighborhoods to the north and the south, Kenwood/Oakland and Woodlawn, respectively, are more deteriorated than any of the communities we have under study. In 1975, for example, our study of Kenwood/Oakland showed that a third of the properties had already been abandoned, and half of the remainder were tax delinquent. Its population had declined from more than 40,000 in 1950 to about 13,000 by 1975. Both communities had also been major centers of activity for Chicago's most notorious youth gang, the Blackstone Rangers, during the 1960s.

The sense of being an island, then, is something residents feel keenly and is evidenced most strongly in the question about whether or not there is any place within a mile where one would be afraid to walk. The highest proportion of people answering yes in any neighborhood are those in Hyde Park, with 81.3 percent in that category. Hyde Parkers also rank first on the avoidance of using public transportation. This too comes from the sense of being on a safe island, the ship passing by carrying dangerous strangers. There are other dramatic illustrations.

Most Hyde Park joggers and bicyclists who make use of the lakefront
bicycle path stop at 47th Street, the community's northern boundary,
and turn around. They do so to avoid rape, assault, and robbery. One
South Side newspaper (The Chicago Journal) has proposed that a sign be
placed at 47th Street saying: "Caution: to advance beyond this point
may be hazardous to your health."

All of this leads to a certain wariness among Hyde Park's whites
in interracial encounters on the streets, and a certain measure of dis-
comfort among many blacks in such encounters as they sense this wariness.
To the extent that blacks bear the symbols of being middle-class, whites
feel less wary; middle-class blacks feel pressure to bear those symbols
so that they are not confused with the dangerous poor. Efforts which
are made to step up police patrolling hence make some middle-class blacks
and their white friends nervous, for some of that patrolling looks like
harassment of all blacks. Blacks tell wryly of taking their TV sets
to be repaired and being stopped by policemen and asked to provide evidence
of ownership. On the other hand, the black youth carrying a TV set
over the fences and through the back yards of one of us explained to
our neighbor that he was taking the set to be fixed. When she suggested
she check with the police, the set was quickly left behind.

The tension is there, and both blacks and whites tread cautiously
about this subject. One of the issues which continues to surface in
the community, then, is what to do about those community activities
which bring blacks in. Are objections to a local basketball tournament
and the crowds who attend racially-based or are they simply reactions
to the inconvenience? If the latter, why does no one object to the
annual art fair which brings in many more people (mainly white) and

causes far more inconvenience? Should a local bar which features jazz
have its lease renewed? These kinds of issues float continually about
the community.

Some uses seem more threatening than others. Half-way houses
for reformed juvenile delinquents and drug addicts are seen as real
threats to the community--as, it should be added, they would be in many
settings. One standard community reaction is, "Why don't you put them
in (some suburb)?" The community imparts a sense of its own precariousness,
and the addition of another potential crime-related problem scares some
people. The issue is more complicated because there are those who believe
it is the community's obligation to make room for the unfortunate.
No decision which has an impact on the community, particularly those
that involve race and class, is made without agonizing debate.

Hyde Park/Kenwood is, however, a thriving community. The
declining membership in the Hyde Park/Kenwood Community Conference is
attributed by many to the fact that the community no longer feels threat-
ened. Hyde Park/Kenwood is participating in the national real estate boom
more than any other community we have discussed so far. As in other such
communities, rates of appreciation and the latest housing prices are a
basic staple of conversation. The community is also participating in
Chicago's condominium boom. Almost twenty-five percent of our respondents
live in condominiums or cooperatives.

The subject of condominiumization is a controversial one. The
Hyde Park ideology favors a mixture of races and classes, and the rhetoric
is that the poor are being driven from the community. In fact, it is
probably the lower-middle class that is being driven away--the young
professionals, artists, and social workers who were attracted to Hyde

Park by its artistic and allegedly liberal, intellectual atmosphere. Certainly, these are the people who fuel the controversies, organize pickets, and demand condominium moratoriums.

As may be inferred from the foregoing, Hyde Park/Kenwood is a complicated community. Although it has few of the small frame houses we have seen elsewhere, the housing stock and its uses are, nonetheless, extraordinarily diverse. The great mansions of Kenwood and the six-bedroom cooperative apartments along the lake house some of the wealthiest people in the city. Many of the old subdivided apartment buildings in the northwest corner of the community house some of the poorest. The racial composition of the community is about 55 percent white, 40 percent black, and 5 percent other, which is mainly Oriental. With 29.7 percent of its households reporting incomes under $10,000, it ranks just ahead of Austin and Back of the Yards, and at the same level as South Shore on the proportion in that category. With 21.3 percent reporting incomes in the $30,000 and above range, it ranks with Lincoln Park behind only Beverly. Some of those in the low-income group are students and retirees; Hyde Park/Kenwood is among the highest of the communities in the percentage of persons in these groups. Also, as might be expected, Hyde Park/Kenwood and Lincoln Park are tied for the highest educational levels. More than 90 percent in each community have a high school education or better, and about half have BAs or better. The percentage of those who have PhD degrees or degrees in law or medicine are also quite similar.

Hyde Park/Kenwood, along with Beverly and Lincoln Park, gives lie to the theory that racial succession must inevitably follow from the presence

of a black population. As we have seen, the failure to change racially is partly attributable to the presence of a black middle-class of increased size whose life style is similar to that of the whites. When this is coupled with the national decline in prejudice identified in surveys, we do find the pattern explicated in Wilson's The Declining Significance of Race (1979). Nonetheless, racial stability simply does not happen by itself; it requires massive intervention by community leaders and a commitment from residents to support integration.

This commitment needs continual reaffirmation and high levels of community education. In our communties, this is born out by the fact that Hyde Park and Beverly residents are most likely to say they are in racially stable communities. Only Portage Park, which has no minorities at all, and no blacks within a mile, comes close to that. Lincoln Park, South Shore, and East Side have slightly more than 50 percent reporting that their communities are stable.

In Hyde Park, this stability is confirmed in other ways. Unlike Back of the Yards where the major employers left or East Side where the major employers are in serious economic difficulty, Hyde Park/Kenwood's major employer, the University of Chicago, continues to be a stable source of jobs. In addition, as part of the University's aggressive program to build up the neighborhood, other educational institutions have been persuaded to locate in the area. The end result is that 38.4 percent of our respondents work in Hyde Park/Kenwood, a higher proportion than in any other of our neighborhoods.

Reflecting the differential distribution of occupational opportunity in these educational institutions, more than three times as many whites as blacks (50 percent compared to 16 percent) hold local jobs.

This fact decreases the probability that whites will flee the area, although historically, enough whites have fled when faced by the prospect of change that it is not impossible that it could happen again.

But there are other signs of stability as well. In other communities, we saw that blacks had been resident for shorter periods of time than whites, and that they were younger. This was because the neighborhoods, in the process of change, were not very successful at attracting young whites. In Hyde Park/Kenwood, the median length of residence for both whites and blacks is approximately seven years. This is not a statistical artifact of the fact that students live in the community; the median length of residence for that 25 percent who have been in the community for the longest time is 17 years for both races, and exactly 2.8 percent of each race has lived there all their lives. A similar story is told by age distributions—the median age for blacks is 37; for whites, it is 33.

The belief in neighborhood stability and the supporting demographics are buttressed by ideology. Hyde Parkers are less likely than the residents of any other community to believe that when blacks move in, crime goes up, with only 16.8 percent in that category. They are somewhat more likely than Beverly residents to believe that property values go down when blacks move in.

In Hyde Park, until one reaches the top end of the scale, where blacks are still under-represented in the society as a whole, black and white incomes are surprisingly similar. Fifty-two percent of both black and white families are in the under $20,000 category. Reflecting the student and retiree populations, slightly more whites than blacks are in the under $10,000 range. Slightly more whites are also in the

over $30,000 category. Also reflecting the nature of both the neighborhood and American society, the whites report higher levels of education. Slightly more than half of the whites report college education or higher, whereas slightly over a third of the blacks are in this position. If completion of high school is added, the proportions are the same for the groups.

Hyde Parkers like their community and have high levels of participation in it. In overall satisfaction, they rank fifth after our three low-crime communities and Lincoln Park, with 85 percent in the satisfied category. They are also optimistic about the future, with 31 percent anticipating that the neighborhood will get better in the next two years. Only Lincoln Park and South Shore show higher levels of optimism. Similar to Lincoln Park and Beverly, a small proportion, 11.5 percent (compared to 29.1 percent in South Shore), think it will get worse.

Hyde Park is organizationally the second most active of our communities. More than 70 percent of property owners report belonging to a homeowner group or a group that is concerned with neighborhood life. Hyde Park ranks behind Beverly in the number of residents overall who belong to groups concerned with housing and the quality of community life.

Although Hyde Park/Kenwood residents (along with Lincoln Park's) are least likely to report having relatives in the neighborhood, evidence exists that non-family social ties are strong. Hyde Parkers are more likely than anybody else except East Side residents to report that they have good friends in the neighborhood, and more likely than the residents of any other community to spend a social evening with neighbors. Hyde Parkers are as likely as residents in any of our other high-crime communities

to be able to count on their neighbors to watch their houses (83.6 percent), lend them money (73.4 percent) and look after them if they were sick (75.7 percent).

Hyde Park residents use some facilities locally and go outside for others. Along with those in Lincoln Park, they are most likely to shop for groceries in the neighborhood (86.3 percent). (Hyde Park's cooperatively-owned supermarket is one of the highest volume supermarkets in the city.) Congruent with the fact that there are two hospitals and a large group medical practice in the neighborhood, they are most likely to get medical care in the community. They are least likely to buy their clothes and get their cars repaired within the community. Holt and Pacyga (1979) point out that commercial areas in Hyde Park have never been anything special because of the close proximity to the Loop; the evidence on facility use points in that direction.

High levels of cohesion, optimism, and positive sentiments toward the community continue even though crime levels are high in Hyde Park/Kenwood and the citizens are fearful. Both of these things are true despite the enormous efforts discussed above to reduce crime.

According to police data, Hyde Park ranks third behind South Shore and Austin in personal crime with a rate of 13.45 per thousand. It ranks first in property crime with a rate of 93.25 per thousand, and second, just behind South Shore, in total crime with a rate of 160.88 per thousand.

Hyde Parkers appear to report a higher proportion of their victimizations to the police than most other neighborhoods. When one looks at victimization reports by household, Hyde Park rankings are slightly less severe than the police records. On personal crime, it

ranks fourth behind Austin, Back of the Yards, and South Shore. On property crime, it ranks fifth behind the same communities plus Lincoln Park. In total crime, which includes vandalism, it also ranks fifth.

The generally positive attitude toward the community is not generated simply because Hyde Park residents are wearing rose-colored glasses, minimizing the role of crime in their lives. On the question of how much crime there is in the neighborhood, Hyde Park ranks third behind Austin and Back of the Yards and ties with Lincoln Park on the proportion who say there is a lot. If we combine "a lot and some," Hyde Park ranks second, tied with Austin and behind Lincoln Park. When asked what is the probability that they will be a victim of a crime, Hyde Park residents again tie with Lincoln Park for third place behind Austin and South Shore.

On measures which concern precautions to avoid crime, Hyde Park ranks approximately in the middle of the communities. The one exception is that Hyde Park is next to the highest in the percentage of respondents who have deliberately chosen a safe dwelling unit. Avoidance of long walks at night and of public transportation also seem to be important ways the members of this community allay their fears, reducing in their own minds the probabilities that they will be victims of crime. This suggests to policy-makers fighting neighborhood deterioration in high crime areas that attention to housing security measures is an important route to follow. Unfortunately, some of these are expensive and seem more likely to be undertaken in areas where appreciation is taking place or likely to occur, or where improved facilities will lead to increased demand. Landlords in particular are not likely to invest in security measures if they see little future return for their investments.

Having made a series of decisions about how they are going to
live their lives in a high-crime area--staying off the streets at night,
avoiding public transportation, and choosing a safe house--Hyde Park/
Kenwood residents still have nagging worries. Although they talk about
their paranoia concerning crime, in general their expressions of fear are
just about where they should be in terms of the amount of crime. With a
third of them saying that they often worry about being the victim of a
crime, they rank third behind Austin and Back of the Yards and tie with
South Shore. Although everybody is afraid of strangers asking directions
at night (Lincoln Park ranks lowest with 46.6 percent), Hyde Parkers are
more likely to be so than residents in four other neighborhoods. By
contrast, however, Beverly is the only neighborhood where people worry
less about being burglarized while they are away. On only one measure
are Hyde Parkers less fearful than anybody else--they do not worry about
their children at school. This no doubt mirrors the high levels of
parental participation in school activities.

In terms of other neighborhood problems, the rankings based on
our independent observations coincide closely with the levels of concern
respondents express. Taking the composite neighborhood problem measure,
Hyde Park/Kenwood comes out fourth, with Back of the Yards, South Shore,
and Austin above it. In street crimes, and youth standing on street
corners saying insulting things, it ranks second and fourth, respectively.
On our objective measures, Hyde Park/Kenwood ranks fifth in degree of
neglect of lawns. It ranks fifth ahead of the low-crime neighborhoods on
level of apparent structural flaws. Although it ranks third on level of
parkway maintenance, its major shopping strips are less littered than
anywhere else.

In short, we see in Hyde Park/Kenwood massive intervention to
prevent a community from deteriorating when faced with racial change and
high crime rates. The intervention seems to have succeeded. The com-
munity is thriving, property is appreciating, and properties are moder-
ately well-maintained even though crime continues to be a major problem
for its residents.

CHAPTER 10

LINCOLN PARK

If one were to have observed Lincoln Park, particularly that segment away from the lakefront, in the 1950s, one would have seen an exemplar of the concentric zone theory of growth and deterioration. Lincoln Park was in that ring which was beginning to decline. As early as 1942, one writer had located regions of substantial deterioration (Monchow, p. 11). Blacks, Hispanics, and Appalachians were moving into the area, the older ethnic groups were moving away, fine old houses were being subdivided, and property values were going down.

If one were to have observed Lincoln Park in the 1970s, however, one would have found support for the sector theory of growth. Lincoln Park had become an economically booming area—our own data for the 1973-78 period show a rate of property appreciation of 366 percent in single family houses alone. To the sector-oriented observer, that growth would have seemed inevitable. The wealthy area on the northern edge of the city beginning at Streeterville, the Gold Coast, and the Near North was continuing its move northward. Lincoln Park, after earlier peaks and valleys in its development, has become another example of a high-crime lakefront community that has shown rapid appreciation, and increasing property maintenance and renovation. Following a pattern we have already seen, this so-called inevitable growth was fueled with massive intervention and is maintained by constant vigilance.

Lincoln Park got its start midway through the nineteenth century as a truck farming area, providing produce for the city three miles to the south. In 1860, the Presbyterian Theological Seminary was constructed

LINCOLN PARK
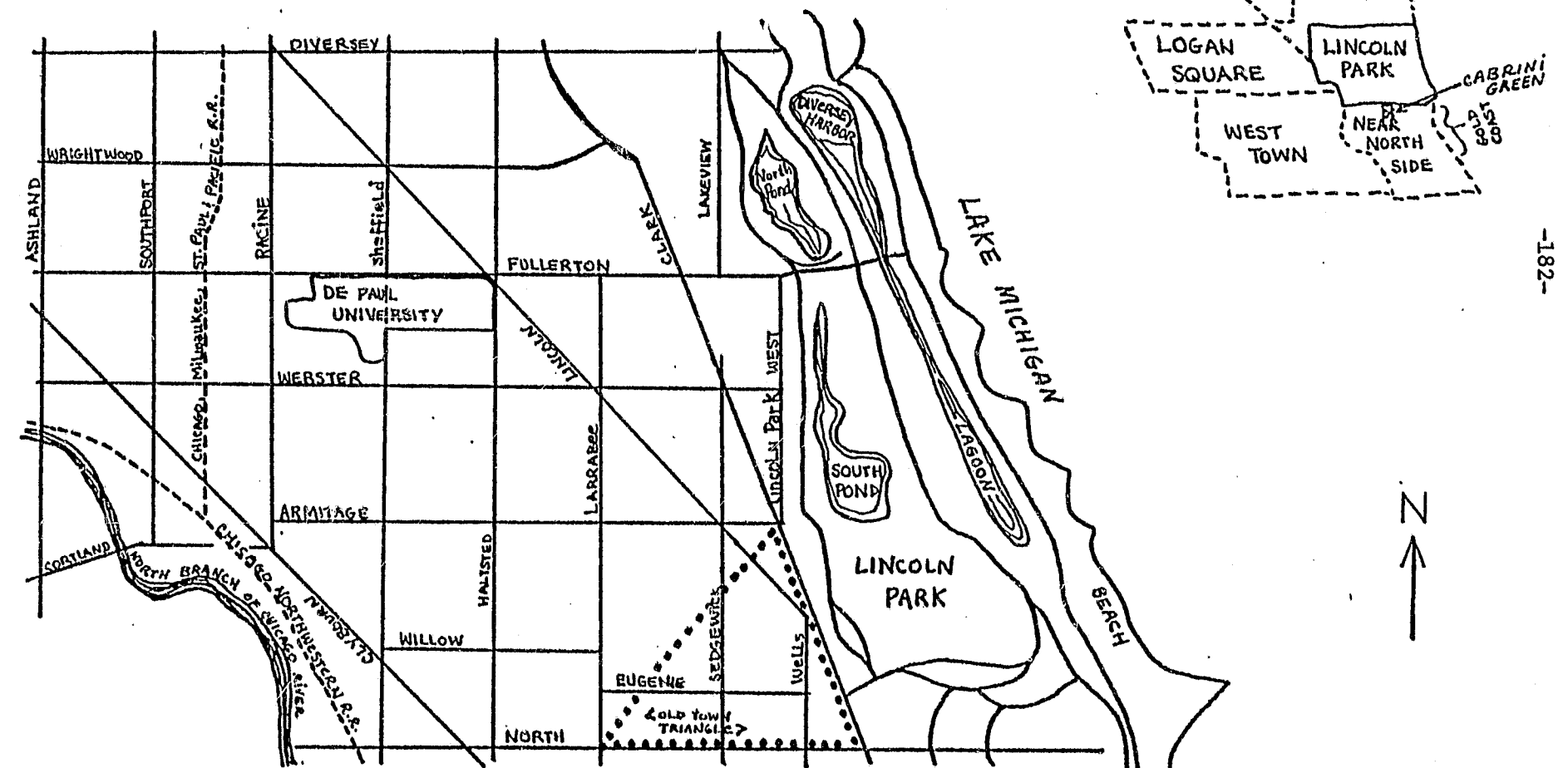
in the area (its descendant moved to Hyde Park in 1977), and a small
residential quarter grew up around it. The ethnic composition during
this period was German, Scotch, and Irish (LCFB, p. 28). Until the Chicago
Fire in 1871, the area continued to serve predominantly as a truck farming
area. However, the fire brought refugees to be housed in temporary structures,
and the fact that subsequent fire control ordinances were not enforced
in the area meant that inexpensive housing could be built. Factories
had also marched north after the fire, locating along the Chicago River
at the western edge of the area. With the arrival of the cable car lines
in 1889, the community began to grow rapidly. Workers could be employed
either in the nearby factories or by growing establishments in the central
city area.

Although Germans continued to be numerically dominant, Irish,
Poles, Slovaks, Serbians, Rumanians, Hungarians and Italians moved into
the area, giving it the heterogeneous character it has maintained until
recently. By 1895, the area was fully developed, the more prosperous
living in its eastern (lakefront and park front) areas, and the less
so living further inward.

During the period 1920-1940, expensive new construction, including
relatively high-rise apartment buildings, was underway along the lake
and park fronts. Just west of that area, however, fashionable houses
began to be sub-divided into rooming houses. As early as the 1920s,
a small group of blacks had moved into the southwestern corner of the
community. Among the older families in the area, growing fear of the
Italian population with its "black hand" was reported. "The St. Valentine's
Massacre took place in a local garage. Al Capone's girlfriend lived
over a store on Halsted. John Dillinger was . . . shot down by the FBI
in front of the local Biograph Theater" (Warner, 1979, p. 21).

During the post-World War II period, Appalachians and Hispanics
began to move into the area, with the earlier ethnics, now more prosperous,
moving to the suburbs or to the northwest corner of the city. A separate
black and Hispanic area just south of North Avenue, Lincoln Park's southern
boundary, began to boil over into Lincoln Park itself. A large Japanese
population also began to move into the area. Lincoln Park's overall
population was declining, however, and by 1960, 23 percent of the commu-
nity's housing was listed as substandard (Warner, p. 23).

Simultaneously, an area toward the southeast began attracting
artists and Bohemians. It was also an area where some of the old German
residents had remained and, although housing prices were relatively low
because of lack of demand, deterioration had not proceeded very far.
This area attracted, then, people who could appreciate the housing bargains
and were willing to renovate to recover the aesthetic values of the area.
These people were, as they often are, the first wave in the process of
gentrification. Residents there formed a community association, the
Old Town Triangle Association, and owners in an area further north which
had resisted sub-division organized the Mid-North Association. They
began a program of code enforcement, neighborhood clean-up, and efforts
to see that adequate city services were provided.

The decline of the area had also become a source of concern to
some of the large institutions in it, including De Paul University,
McCormick Seminary (the old Presbyterian Seminary), four large hospitals,
a local bank, and local churches. In March of 1954, they and the new
community organizations met to form the Lincoln Park Conservation Associ-
ation (LPCA). In addition to further organizing the community and ful-
filling functions similar to those of the original organizations, they

took a leaf from the University of Chicago book and began to work with the Department of Urban Renewal on a renewal plan. However, the institutions did not want to become the object of controversy as the University of Chicago had and so maintained a low profile.

While renewal plans were being developed, housing renovation was becoming more and more popular in the eastern half of the community, and blacks and Hispanics were consolidating their position in the western half. Ultimately, the same pattern we have seen before--tensions between those who wanted to remove the poor and minorities and those who did not--developed, but with higher drama than previously. The LPCA urban renewal plans increasingly appeared to focus on black and Spanish removal, and earlier discussions about provision for low-income housing were dropped. This process, however, was taking place during the 1960s, when the moods of minorities and students were somewhat volatile. Youth gangs, poorer residents, and students organized to fight the renewal plan. There were demonstrations, sit-ins, and other confrontations.

Although these groups did gain some concessions, ultimately the hardliners won. A small proportion of new housing was set aside for the poor, but in the total pattern of destruction of old housing and construction of new, the poor lost out substantially.

The period since that time has seen steady growth and renovation of the area. The middle-class areas have grown, and the remaining areas of poor residences are continuing to shrink. In some areas, such as the southwest corner of the community, one sees the black poor living side by side with newly renovated housing. But each week sees new empty houses with the trucks of contractors parked in front.

Simultaneously with the urban renewal process, both as part of it and as a separate activity, the big developers moved into Lincoln Park. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw massive new housing projects-- high-rises where the views over the lake and over Lincoln Park would make them particularly valuable, and lower-rises elsewhere. Almost every major name in the real estate industry in Chicago has been involved in that process. As one Lincoln Park investor explained, "Lincoln Park had to be the next area. The near north was already heavily built up, and the values were not there. Some of us looked south to the South Shore-Hyde Park area. But the large number of blacks in Jackson Park made such investments untenable. Once the urban renewal process began in Lincoln Park, there was nowhere else to go" (personal communication).

Today, community residents fight the fights of middle-class settlements. These include a great deal of attention to the schools. The Lincoln Park School District covers the same area as Cabrini Green, one of the city's most notorious public housing projects. Efforts are being made to upgrade in a context where gang activity is still a threat. Nonetheless, the high school which had gained a bad reputation had its name changed from Waller to Lincoln Park, and more than two million dollars have been spent on renovation. Efforts have been made to enrich programs and to discourage youth from congregating in front of the school. Although families with children are not the major factor in Lincoln Park's boom, those families who wish to avoid the public schools are blessed with having two of the city's most illustrious private schools nearby. Other private schools exist, and new private elementary schools have also been started.

Residents also fight the construction of high-rise buildings which would, in their view, bring congestion to the area. They are also engaged in fighting the construction of subsidized housing, half-way houses, and other such institutions, and they work with the police to reduce crime.

Crime does continue to be a serious Lincoln Park problem. Careful readers of our previous chapters already have some clue just how serious it is. According to victimization reports, Lincoln Park ranks highest of all our neighborhoods in property crime, with 25 percent of households reporting property crime victimization during the preceding year. It ranks fifth in personal crime, and in total crime, which includes vandalism, it ranks third behind South Shore and Austin. According to police data, it ranks third in property crime with a rate of 70.54 per thousand. In personal crime, it ranks fifth, and in total crime, it ranks fourth.

Crime, however, does not interfere with Lincoln Park residents' satisfaction with their neighborhood. With 93 percent reporting overall satisfaction, Lincoln Park ranks third among our communities. This is not because Lincoln Park residents fool themselves about crime or are ignorant of its existence. A higher percentage of Lincoln Park residents than in any other neighborhood say that there is either some or a lot of crime in the area. Almost two-thirds of respondents fall into those categories. They are somewhat more sanguine about the probability of becoming a victim of a crime, on which they tie with Hyde Park for third after Austin and South Shore. One reason for this may be that they, along with Hyde Parkers, are the most likely to say that they chose their residence with safety in mind.

Curiously enough, despite the boom qualities of the area and the high levels of satisfaction, Lincoln Park ranks third in terms of levels of deterioration. In numbers of visible structural flaws, it falls in behind Back of the Yards and Austin; and on lawn maintenance, it ranks fourth behind Back of the Yards, South Shore, and Austin. Litter on parkways is less of a problem; there it ranks fifth. Its shopping strips which are otherwise prosperous--Lincoln Park has become an area with trendy shops and other "boutiques" as well as the largest range of restaurants in our sample--rank high on levels of litter.

Consistent with Lincoln Park residents' satisfaction with their community, they do not see it as a place with serious problems. On our scale of neighborhood nuisances, Lincoln Park ranks fifth, ahead of the low crime communities of Portage Park, Beverly, and East Side. They are less concerned about drugs and drug users than any other area in the sample despite, or because of, the fact that drug use is, we believe, fairly extensive. This may relate to the most important fact about Lincoln Park--in addition to being the product of urban renewal and the massive investment which followed, Lincoln Park is also the product of the massive demographic shift discussed in Chapter 1. Its residents are overwhelmingly the singles, particularly the younger ones, who have come to settle in the city. They are well-educated, young professionals who came to maturity in the 1960s.

Let us look at the basic demographics. Lincoln Park is a neighborhood with small households. Fifty-four percent of our respondents are single (33 percent female and 21 percent male), and nearly three-quarters of all households have only one or two people in them. In addition, 81 percent are less than forty-six years old with about half

of them under the age of thirty. Forty-three percent have moved into the community within the last five years, and 71 percent have moved in since 1970. Over half of both men and women hold bachelor's degrees or higher, and 9.2 percent of the men have law or medical degrees. Lincoln Park family income levels rank second only to Beverly's. If one considers the large proportion of incomes in Lincoln Park that are attributable to only one person and the relatively low median age compared to Beverly's (31 to 41), one has some idea of the real income levels in this area.

One important question concerning Lincoln Park's future is the extent to which this population will remain versus the extent to which residents will see Lincoln Park as a way station. We have some clues. Few Lincoln Park residents plan to move within the next year. With 8.4 percent in that category, they are tied with Portage Park and behind Beverly and East Side. Our longitudinal study of South Shore suggests that those who say they will move do so.

About 60 percent of the respondents consider Lincoln Park to be a "real home" rather than just a place to live. This is a remarkable figure for a rental population, which is what Lincoln Park is, with only 24 percent owning their residences. Despite the fact that much has been made of condominiumization in the area, only 9 percent report that they live in this type of housing unit.

Given Lincoln Park's recent history, it is hardly surprising that residents think the area is improving and will continue to do so. With 43.4 percent reporting that Lincoln Park has improved in the last two years, Lincoln Park has almost twice as many upbeat residents as the next nearest community, Beverly. It has the smallest proportion

who say things have gotten worse. Fifty-two percent say things will get still better in the next two years; South Shore comes second with 36 percent.

As might be expected from such a young and new neighborhood, Lincoln Park residents are least likely to have relatives living there. Yet they report more good friends than any other area except East Side and Hyde Park. They also have active social lives; they spend more time with neighbors than do residents in any community except Hyde Park, and they spend more time visiting friends outside the community and co-workers than do residents in any other community.

One consequence of the Lincoln Park type of community is that the residents there are less likely to be able to rely on their neighbors if they are sick or to count on their neighbors to keep watch on their house than are residents in any other community. And with the exception of Hyde Park residents, they are the least likely to be able to identify strangers.

In terms of neighborhood facility use, Lincoln Parkers are the most likely to dine out in their neighborhood and to do their grocery shopping there as well. The latter may relate to the large number of singles in the area who find it easy to drop into convenience stores. They are among the least likely to buy their clothes, get their cars repaired, or to get medical care there. This last is somewhat surprising, given the range of hospitals available within the area. They are most likely to work "downtown" and are among the least likely to work in the neighborhood.

Lincoln Park residents do not seem to be joiners. Membership in community organizations, church groups, and other voluntary associations

is toward the low end compared with other communities. The single exception is recreational groups, with 32 percent of our respondents belonging to one.

One can exaggerate the homogeneity of the area. While it is obviously the classical case of a gentrifying community with young, white professionals in profusion, there is still a range of residents. There is little doubt that the community used to be more heterogeneous than it is today; but "diversity" is a label that people in Lincoln Park use to categorize their community, and community residents do bring a relatively easy tolerance toward diversity. For example, although we have no data on the subject, it is widely believed that Lincoln Park has a measurable homosexual population.

Lincoln Park respondents are more evenly distributed between Protestant, Catholic, and Jew than are those in any of our other communities (30.8 percent, 35.5 percent, and 9.6 percent, respectively), and more of them report having no religion than in any other neighborhood (19 percent).

Ten percent of Lincoln Park respondents are black, and about half of these are young professionals with relatively high incomes. Five percent are Hispanic, and there is also a measurable Oriental popula-tion. Ethnicities cut across the entire Chicago spectrum. Irish and German, the background of Lincoln Park's earliest settlers, still predomi-nate, but at the low levels of 14.7 and 10.4 percent, respectively.

Almost 10 percent of the population are employed as craftsmen, operatives, or laborers. And nearly 20 percent report family incomes of under $10,000. Twenty-five percent of the population is older than forty and has lived there more than ten years.

The broad tolerance toward others in Lincoln Park is manifested in an interesting way. On our measures of attitudes toward racial change, Lincoln Park residents come out as low as or lower than the residents of any other community. They are less likely than the residents of any other community except Hyde Park to say that crime goes up when blacks move in, with 17.5 percent in that category. And they, along with Hyde Park, are less likely to say that property values go down under those circumstances than the residents of any community except Beverly. But unlike Hyde Park and Beverly where almost three-quarters of the residents characterize their neighborhoods as racially stable (more than those in any other community), Lincoln Park residents are substantially more likely to view their neighborhood as changing, with 42.4 percent in that category. All of our communities with larger proportions categorizing the neighborhood as changing (whether or not it actually is) also have larger percentages agreeing with the racially-threatening statements in our instrument. In this sense, Lincoln Park is unusual. But, in addition, Lincoln Park residents are the least likely to agree that realtors participate in panic-peddling when blacks move in, or that blacks get harassed when the first black families move in.

In general, then, their view of the consequences of blacks moving into a community is more broadly benign than in any of our other neighborhoods. The matter is more complicated, however, because Lincoln Park's racial situation is ambiguous. Our selection of Lincoln Park as a neighborhood into which blacks were moving was partly governed by a fine Chicago Urban League report entitled Where Blacks Live (1978), which suggested that this is the case. Our own field observations reinforced this evaluation. Yet, obviously, two countervailing trends are

occurring simultaneously. Low-income blacks are leaving the community at the same time that the area is becoming dotted with the middle-income people already described. The middle-class, well-educated white residents are not threatened by middle-class, well-educated black residents, and, consequently, do not feel the need to harass them. In addition, because this is an area of renters, and an area so firmly on the upswing that realtors are making large sums of money, they are not motivated to frighten people with the prospect of racial change.

Lincoln Park may thus be on the road to being a model of a racially-integrated, class-homogeneous community. The apparent stability of Beverly, Hyde Park, and Lincoln Park may mean that where there is largely class congruence, succession is no longer inevitable. Our finding in this sense broadly supports the contention in Wilson's The Declining Significance of Race (1979) that for middle-class blacks, segregation and discrimination are less problematic than they used to be. What is striking about the Hyde Park and Lincoln Park cases in this regard is that they take place in a relatively high crime context.

Cynics may argue that the final results are not yet in, that neighborhoods have tipping points, and that Beverly and especially Lincoln Park are well below those points. Hyde Park is a special case because of the University of Chicago's continued active involvement and its support of the private police system. The process of change in Beverly particularly has not, they might say, been halted, but rather merely stalled. However, the real test of an integrated neighborhood seems to be the extent to which blacks and whites freely buy houses from each other. That pattern is well established in Hyde Park. It is, so far, less well established in Beverly. In Lincoln Park, whites are still buying houses

from poor blacks in order to renovate them. In the relatively expensive
rental market, blacks and whites appear free to exchange quarters with
each other.

What we have then in Lincoln Park is the classic pattern of
gentrification. Starting with young Bohemians who saw good housing bar-
gains for those with the time and skill to renovate, followed by the
city's entry into the process through urban renewal, and then by the
support of large investors, the area moved back into middle-class status.
Today it is predominantly young, white, professional and single. With
its glorious park and lakefront beaches, and its locational advantages,
it continues to prosper in the context of high crime.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

In the last several chapters, we have derived a historical account
of the context and the process of change in each of our eight Chicago neigh-
borhoods. In the next few chapters, we will integrate our different sources
of information into a set of formal, comprehensive models for studying the
effects of crime and fear of crime on neighborhood change. We will engage
in a detailed statistical analysis of the survey responses, community field
observations, and archival records that we have collected. Such a combination
of narrative and statistical analyses is rarely undertaken in studies of
either crime or the urban community. But we believe that each type of analysis
is necessary, just as we have found that no single source of data—public
records, community observation, or survey responses—provides a complete
picture of the process of neighborhood change.

We view the general process of neighborhood change as a series of
individual motivations, decisions, and actions that can be studied at the
individual as well as at the neighborhood level. The integrated study of
the individual urban dweller, the conditions on his/her block, and the con-
dition in his/her neighborhood enables us to examine the patterns of change
in each neighborhood, but to do so in a way that recognizes the importance
of individual decisions in shaping neighborhood development. We focus in
particular on the ways that crime and fear of racial change affect subsequent
feelings and decisions a person makes about how satisfactory the neighborhood
is as a place for living and investing.

A Framework for the Analysis

In subsequent chapters, we will control for differences in neighborhood

quality and personal experience to build statistical and theoretical models of responses to crime and reactions to neighborhood change for owners and renters in each of the three major racial/ethnic groups—whites, blacks and Hispanics. The conclusions from our analysis do not depend heavily on the assumptions made about the causal order among the variables. However, we have adopted a particular framework for understanding the actions of the individual in the process of neighborhood change. This framework guides the organization of the next several chapters, and so the general model used for specifying the causal order among the variables is presented below.

Control and Explanatory Variables			
Victimization Quality of Land Use Pattern of Housing Neighborhood Racial Composition Other Respondent Attitudes and Experiences	Racial Change Perception of Neighborhood Racial Stability (Chapter 11)	Fear of Crime Perceived Risk Satisfaction with Neighborhood Safety (Chapter 12)	Economic Outcome Measure Satisfaction with Neighborhood Investment (Chapter 13)

The actual analysis we have undertaken does not rigidly assume this causal sequence. We do believe, however, that stability and neighborhood security are antecedents to satisfaction with neighborhood investment. For this reason, the next three chapters come in the order indicated in the diagram.

Housing Market Groups Defined

We learned in the early stages of the analysis that the neighborhood context and, therefore, the reaction to that context was very different for each of the three main racial/ethnic groups included in our survey—whites, blacks, and Hispanics. In addition, the concerns and interests in each particular

neighborhood context are different for renters than for home owners. Consequently, we pursued the analysis separately for owners and renters in each racial/ethnic group. In some circumstances, the analysis was refined even further to study the owners or renters of a particular racial/ethnic status in a particular neighborhood. Of course, with this level of refinement, only those neighborhoods with a sufficient concentration of owners and/or renters in the desired racial/ethnic category can be studied. Table I shows the concentrations of each type of housing market in each neighborhood.

Housing Market Group Differences

In the chapters that follow, we will make use of a range of control variables—measures of victimization; observations of neighborhood housing patterns; observations of neighborhood land use quality; respondent reports of neighborhood problems; and other measures of respondent attitudes, neighborhood attachment and neighborhood involvement. Rather than define each set of control variables in each chapter, the following tables are presented as a concise summary. These tables define the variables used in the regression analyses in the next three chapters and also show the considerable differences between renters and owners in the three racial/ethnic groups on many of these measures. The particular patterns of group differences will not be discussed here. Rather, each set of variables will be fully discussed and analyzed at the appropriate place in one of the next three chapters.

TABLE I

COMPOSITION OF HOUSING MARKET IN CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOODS: ETHNIC/OWNERSHIP STATUS

	White Owner	White Renter	Black Owner	Black Renter	Hispanic Owner	Hispanic Renter
Portage Park	65%	34%	--	--	1%	--
Lincoln Park	23	62	--	10	--	5
Austin	12	8	23	54	2	2
Back of the Yards	23	31	10	10	8	19
Beverly	72	13	12	3	1	--
Hyde Park/Kenwood	23	40	8	28	--	1
South Shore	1	5	24	68	1	1
East Side	70	22	--	1	5	3
TOTAL	36	27	10	22	2	4

TABLE II

MEASURES OF VICTIMIZATION, INCIVILITY, AND FEAR OF AND RESPONSES TO CRIME

Characteristic	Average Score in Each Housing Market					
	White Owner	White Renter	Black Owner	Black Renter	Hispanic Owner	Hispanic Renter
1) **Victimization:** Was Respondent or a Household Member a Victim of Crime in the Neighborhood in the Last Year (0) No (1) Yes	.24	.27	.28	.31	.24	.25
2) **Vandalism:** Was Respondent's Building Vandalized in the Last Year (0) No (1) Yes	.12	.20	.14	.27	.13	.16
3) **Incivility:** Is There a Problem With Bothersome People on the Street and/or Drugs and Drug Users (2) Neither is a Problem (6) Both are Big Problems	2.53	2.63	2.74	2.92	2.87	2.79
4) **Home Defense:** Has Respondent Installed a Burglar Alarm, Engraved Identification on Valuables or Taken Other Home Security Steps (0) None (3) All Three	1.02	.81	1.21	1.01	.78	.65
5) **Restrict Activity:** Has Respondent Avoided Public Transportation or Refused a Job Because of Fear of Crime (0) Neither (1) Either or Both	.35	.43	.37	.38	.27	.28

TABLE II--Continued

MEASURES OF VICTIMIZATION, INCIVILITY,
AND FEAR OF AND RESPONSES TO CRIME

	Average Score in Each Housing Market					
Characteristic	White Owner	White Renter	Black Owner	Black Renter	Hispanic Owner	Hispanic Renter
6) Perception of Risk: Assessment of the Amount of Crime in the Neighborhood and the Likelihood that Respondent Will be a Victim						
(2) Both Low						
(5) Both High	2.78	2.99	3.04	3.12	2.82	2.75
7) Satisfaction with Safety: Satisfaction with Safety and Reputation of Neighborhood						
(-4) Very Dissatisfied with Both						
(4) Very Satisfied with Both	2.26	1.69	.87	.65	1.78	1.72

TABLE III

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSING PATTERNS BY HOUSING MARKET COMPOSITION*

Percent of respondents living on a block face with:	White Owner	White Renter	Black Owner	Black Renter	Hispanic Owner	Hispanic Renter	TOTAL
1) 9 or more single family dwellings	64%	16%	34%	10%	28%	14%	33%
2) 6 or more two-six flats	24	38	38	33	66	71	34
3) 1 or more multiple-unit dwellings	20	56	41	67	07	14	42

*See Chapter 2 and Appendix C for detailed discussion of the collection
of these data.

TABLE IV

QUALITY OF NEIGHBORHOOD LAND USE BY HOUSING MARKET COMPOSITION*

Percent of respondents living on a block face with:	White Owner	White Renter	Black Owner	Black Renter	Hispanic Owner	Hispanic Renter	TOTAL
1) 1 or more parks, alleys or open spaces	43%	64%	54%	68%	52%	41%	56%
2) 1 or more frame flats	30	33	30	21	69	76	32
3) 1 or more frame single-family units	51	42	43	34	69	53	45
4) 1 or more commercial or public buildings	16	39	19	27	48	59	28
5) 1 or more abandoned units	01	02	16	07	07	07	07
6) 1 or more vacant lots	06	12	20	18	28	29	13
7) 2 or more units with visible signs of needed repair	57	53	62	52	76	79	56
8) 1 or more units being rehabilitated	22	21	10	12	17	22	18
9) 1 or more lawns with 7 or more pieces of litter	25	45	65	69	62	67	46
10) 1 or more lawns with large litter	06	09	14	19	31	18	11

*See Chapter 2 and Appendix C for detailed discussion of the collection of these data.

TABLE V

ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS BY HOUSING MARKET COMPOSITION

Characteristic	Average Score in Each Housing Market					
	White Owner	White Renter	Black Owner	Black Renter	Hispanic Owner	Hispanic Renter
1) Perceived Consequences of Integration: Belief about Effect of Black In-migration on Social Status, Crime Rate and Property Values in Neighborhood (-3) Bad Effect on All Three (3) Neutral or Positive All Three	.69	.90	.79	.40	-.49	-.19
2) Satisfaction with Quality/Appearance: Satisfaction with Housing Quality and General Appearance of Neighborhood (-4) Very Dissat. with Both (4) Very Satisfied with Both	2.13	1.20	.69	-.17	1.93	1.42
3) Psychological Attachment: Is the Neighborhood a Home or Just a Place to Live (0) Place to Live (1) Home	.82	.55	.69	.44	.49	.45
4) Neighborhood Deterioration: Are there Problems with Garbage, Unkept Lawns, Absentee Landlords, Abandoned Homes or Vacant Lots (5) No Problems (15) All are Big Problems	5.90	6.46	7.37	7.94	7.32	7.01
5) Family Income in Thousands	21.26	16.22	20.72	14.41	17.56	14.09

TABLE V--Continued

ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
BY HOUSING MARKET COMPOSITION

		Average Score in Each Housing Market				
Characteristic	White Owner	White Renter	Black Owner	Black Renter	Hispanic Owner	Hispanic Renter
6) **Family Demography:**						
(a) Married with Children	.39	.21	.48	.48	.69	.61
(b) Married without Children	.34	.26	.14	.14	.24	.15
(c) Single	.26	.54	.39	.35	.07	.23
7) **Organizational Membership:** Does Respondent Belong to a Homeowner/ Renter; Quality of Community Life; and/or Neighborhood Crime Prevention Group						
(0) None						
(1) Any or All	.43	.19	.53	.23	.20	.10
8) **Building Security:** Is there a Problem with Building Security						
(1) No Problem						
(3) A Big Problem	---	1.21	---	1.42	---	1.23
9) **Landlord Responsiveness:** Did the Landlord Improve the Property in the Last Two Years						
(0) No (1) Yes	---	.59	---	.52	---	.48
10) **Housing Deterioration:** Is there a Problem with Heating, Rodents, Plumbing, Paint/Plaster, or Broken Windows						
(5) No Problems						
(15) All Big Problems	---	6.28	---	6.90	---	6.61

CHAPTER 11

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE IN NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

It may seem peculiar to begin the statistical analysis of crime, fear of crime, and neighborhood deterioration with a chapter on perceptions of racial stability. We do so because these perceptions turn out to be a powerful intervening force in determining just how fearful people are of crime and how strong a role that fear plays in their attitudes toward the community. Although it is clear from our study design that we viewed racial succession and concern about it as important for understanding the way people feel about crime, we did not anticipate that it would have the central impact on individuals that it does.

However, before turning to the analysis, we would like to anticipate it slightly by placing it in a more general framework. We do this because the perception of stability is not as straightforward as one might think. The survey question used to measure this perception is:

> "Thinking about the races of the people who live in (NEIGHBORHOOD)--
> that is, whether they're black, white, or hispanic--would you say
> the racial composition is pretty stable or would you say the
> racial composition is changing?"

Our first surprise was that it was not easy by looking at objective facts to predict what our respondents would say. Substantial numbers report that their neighborhoods are stable when they have measurable and growing minority populations. On the other hand, numerous respondents tell us that their neighborhood is changing when we neither have any discernable evidence for that, nor does the community seem to be in the path of expansion of minority groups.

Secondly, we were initially perplexed by the fact that the relationship between fear of crime and perceptions of racial change was present for

home owners of both races. Even in one of our neighborhoods which is almost one hundred percent minority, the same pattern could be observed--those who reported the neighborhood was stable had fewer problems with crime than those who reported the neighborhood was changing.

Seeking an explanation for these phenomena, we turned to William J. Wilson's The Declining Significance of Race (1979). In that book, Wilson argues that one group of blacks--the well educated and well trained--have broken through the barriers built by centuries of prejudice and are able to do about as well as whites with similar levels of education. Simultaneously, however, there is a large group of uneducated and untrained blacks who are not entering the labor force. This group, Wilson argues, is not excluded from the labor force because its members are black, but rather because they are uneducated and untrained.

An understanding of this pattern helps us to explain our findings. Many of the whites who perceive that their neighborhoods are racially stable even with a growing proportion of blacks are in the middle class neighborhoods with middle class black people. For them, although our question asks about race, we hypothesize that the threat of racial change is really understood as a threat of social class change, and they do not see that happening. By contrast, those who perceive their neighborhood as changing are more often in lower income communities; for them, the fear of change and the fear of crime is linked to the presence of the underclass, which is what they imagine when blacks are being talked about.

The finding that blacks in all-black neighborhoods are also concerned about stability is similarly explicable in terms of Wilson's thesis. A stable black neighborhood is one which is perceived to be able to hold its middle class character. An unstable one is one in which soft market forces lead to the neighborhood increasingly taking on the character of the black

underclass. For many middle class blacks, this is a difficult issue in making a residential choice. Some have moved several times in order to stay one step ahead of "the element". Consequently, blacks in middle class neighborhoods have concerns about maintaining the socioeconomic status of their neighborhood.

To assess respondents' perceptions of the consequences of racial change, a scale was constructed of the following three survey items:

"I am going to read some statements that people have made about what happens when a few black families move into an all white neighborhood. For each statement, please tell me if you think it's mostly true or mostly false.

1. When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, they usually have the same income and education as the people who live there.

2. When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, crime rates usually go up.

3. When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, property values are sure to go down."

We call our reader's attention to the emphasis on the word 'few' in each of these items.

The items were coded -1 (negative view of racial change) and +1 (non-negative view) and then added together for a scale, ranging from -3 to +3, which measures the extent to which people view black in-migration as inevitably leading to neighborhood decline and, hence, see integration as threatening. The average score for both black and white home owners was about .75. The skewness of the distribution was not so great as to require further statistical steps.

Figure 11.1a (the upper half of Figure 11.1) shows the relation between the percent white and the average score on the scale for white home owners in each of the neighborhoods. The three middle class neighborhoods-- Beverly, Lincoln Park and Hyde Park/Kenwood--all have high scores on the scale. The two working class neighborhoods that are nearly all white--Portage Park

and East Side—are significantly lower on the scale as are the two working

class neighborhoods with the lowest proportion white—Austin and Back of the

Yards.

Figure 11.1b (the lower half of Figure 11.1) shows the relation be-

tween the percent white and the percent of white home owners in each neigh-

borhood who say the area is racially stable. The three middle class neigh-

borhoods are comparatively high in the percent who say the neighborhood is

racially stable. The two working class neighborhoods that have a high percent

non-white—Back of the Yards and Austin—are both low in the percent saying

the area is racially stable. In the remaining neighborhoods, which are nearly

all white, a large percentage view integration as threatening (Figure 11.1a),

but a fairly high percent in each neighborhood believe the area is racially

stable. These are the two neighborhoods that cause the ecological correlation

between the perception that integration does not lead to decline and the

perception of stability to be lower than the individual-level correlation.

Generally speaking, people who are not threatened by the idea of minority

races in the neighborhood are more likely to say the neighborhood is stable.

But in Portage Park and East Side (as well as in the Hispanic population),

there is an abundance of people who feel that racial change equals neighbor-

hood decline, but who also believe their neighborhood is stable.

To summarize this section so far, we have classified our neighborhoods

into three categories vis-à-vis white owners: (1) middle class neighborhoods

where most residents do not see integration as a source of decline and which

are seen by residents to be relatively stable; (2) working class neighborhoods

where residents do see integration as a source of decline, but which are seen

to be relatively stable; and (3) working class neighborhoods where residents

also see integration as a source of decline and which are perceived to be

Figure 11.1a Perceived Consequences of Integration

Figure 11.1b Perceptions of Stability
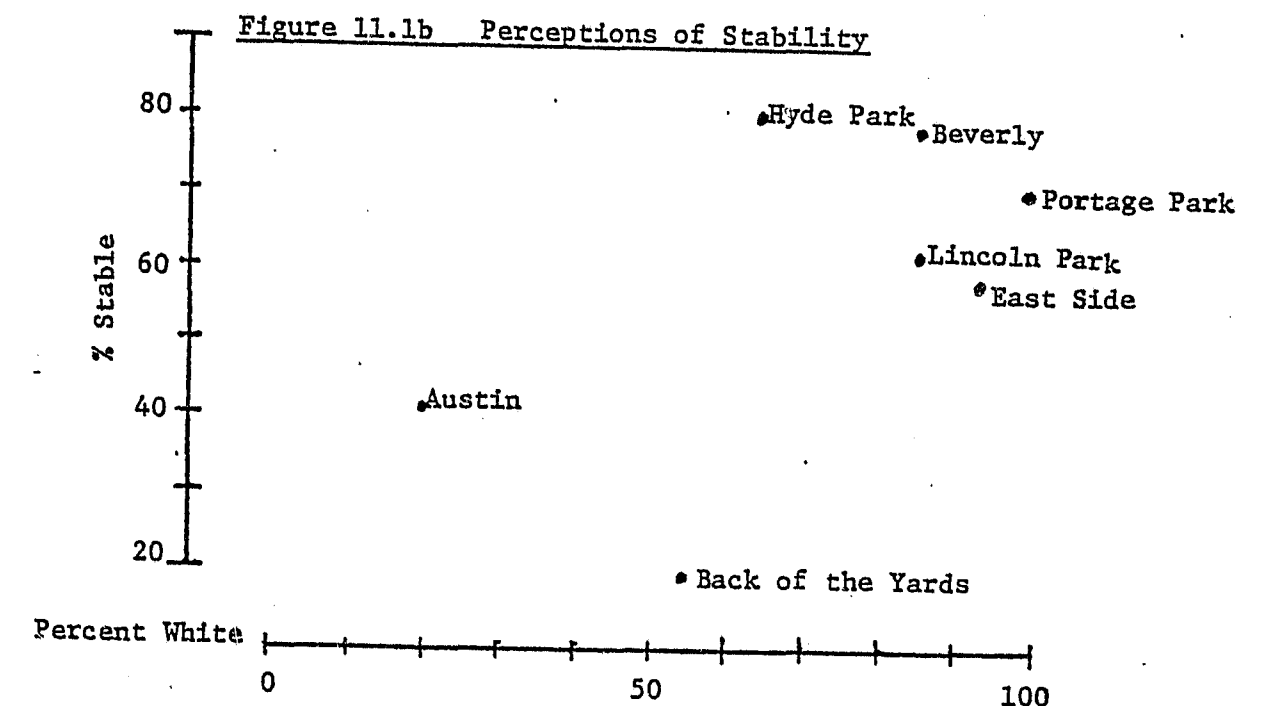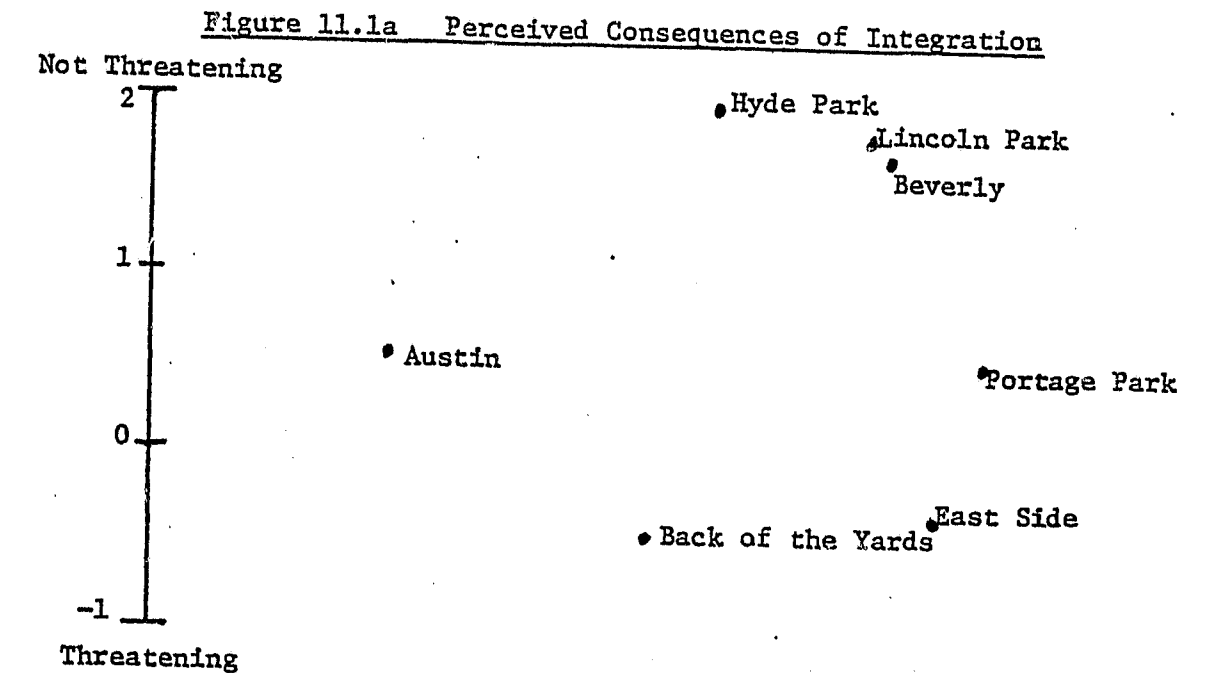
Figure 11.1 Perceived Consequences of Integration and Perceptions of Stability-
White Homeowners

unstable. Among the working class neighborhoods, the perception of instability is strongly related to the percent non-white. For the middle class neighborhoods, there is a more restricted range of variation in the percent non-white, but for the range we can observe--10 to about 40 percent non-white--there is no relation between this factor and the percent seeing the neighborhood as unstable.

The social-class neighborhood difference in perceptions of the inevitability of decline is rooted in the nature of neighborhood experience. Although substantial numbers of both working class and middle class neighborhoods in Chicago have declined after racial change, working class neighborhoods appear to be more vulnerable. There are two reasons for this. First, because the housing in working class neighborhoods is generally of lower quality, the maintenance of strong market demand is difficult. In the soft market situation, poorer people have access to the housing through rentals and non-standard forms of selling, both of which have historically contributed to deterioration. Because of the nature of the housing stock itself, it has less distance to travel to reach a deteriorated state.

Secondly, working class residents have substantially less access to resources than middle class residents do. They are not so strongly connected to finance or to government that they are able to use these forces to fight the social processes leading to decline. Although there are notable exceptions--the Bridgeport area discussed in Chapter 6 has so far effectively resisted black in-migration--most working class neighborhoods have been unable to either prevent or control racial change.

As we have seen from the discussions of Beverly, Lincoln Park and Hyde Park/Kenwood, the middle class neighborhood experience is more variable. Although other middle class neighborhoods have changed, these three have been

able to resist change and accompanying deterioration. This is because the black residents who can afford to live there are more likely to be middle class, and there is room for a little softness in the market. In addition, as we have shown, major institutional actors in cooperation with city government have been able to keep resources flowing into the area and to discourage the presence of poor blacks at the same time that efforts are being made to boost the morale of the whites in the area.

The perception of stability among black home owners further supports the argument that class, not race, is the relevant dimension for understanding neighborhood change. When we examine the pattern for black home owners, we find that the perception of neighborhood stability is strongly related to the social class but not to the racial composition of the neighborhood. Figure 11.2b (the bottom half of Figure 11.2) shows the percent of black home owners who say that the neighborhood is stable and the percent black in each neighborhood. Beverly and Hyde Park/Kenwood are middle class neighborhoods with a relatively low percent black; between 70 and 80 percent of the black owners there say the area is stable. Back of the Yards is shown in the graph but will not be discussed in this part of the analysis because the neighborhood is almost 30 percent Hispanic. Austin is a working class neighborhood where the percent black is very high (about 80 percent) but, even so, only 40 percent of the black home owners consider the area to be stable. We believe that the changes taking place in the social class composition of the black population in Austin are more a cause of the perception of instability than the belief that the small proportion of whites who still live in the area are planning to leave. The neighborhood that even more strongly supports our analysis of black attitudes is South Shore, a middle to lower-middle class neighborhood which is about 95 percent black. But in South Shore, about 50 percent of

black home owners say the area is not stable. This is slightly more than in Austin, much less than in Beverly and Hyde Park/Kenwood, and certainly much less than expected if the responses are assumed to be reports only about the racial mix of the area. As we have seen, South Shore is an area that is struggling to remain a middle class area. There is a great deal of concern among black home owners there as to whether or not this is possible. This concern is reflected in the relatively low percent who consider the neighborhood to be stable.

Figure 11.2a (the top half of Figure 11.2) shows the average score on the perceived consequences of integration scale for black home owners. The blacks in middle class neighborhoods--Beverly and Hyde Park/Kenwood-- are not only more likely to see their neighborhoods as stable, but also are more optimistic about the effects of integration on the quality and standard of life in the neighborhood. In these areas, where integration means middle class integration, the level of optimism is high. In Back of the Yards and Austin, working class neighborhoods where integration means working class integration, the level of optimism is low. South Shore is again in the intermediate position. It is a neighborhood that is struggling to avoid the later stages of neighborhood turnover and deterioration. The level of ambivalence among black owners about the possibility of stable integration reflects the anxiety about this struggle.

Safety, Social Class, and Perceptions of Neighborhood Stability.

A house is the largest investment most people will make in their lives. And for many in American society, racial change is associated with deterioration and declining property values. When one of the authors moved into Hyde Park/Kenwood in 1969, his insurance agent tried desperately to persuade him not to make the purchase and attempted to insure the house for less than the

Figure 11.2a Perceived Consequences of Integration

Figure 11.2b Perceptions of Stability
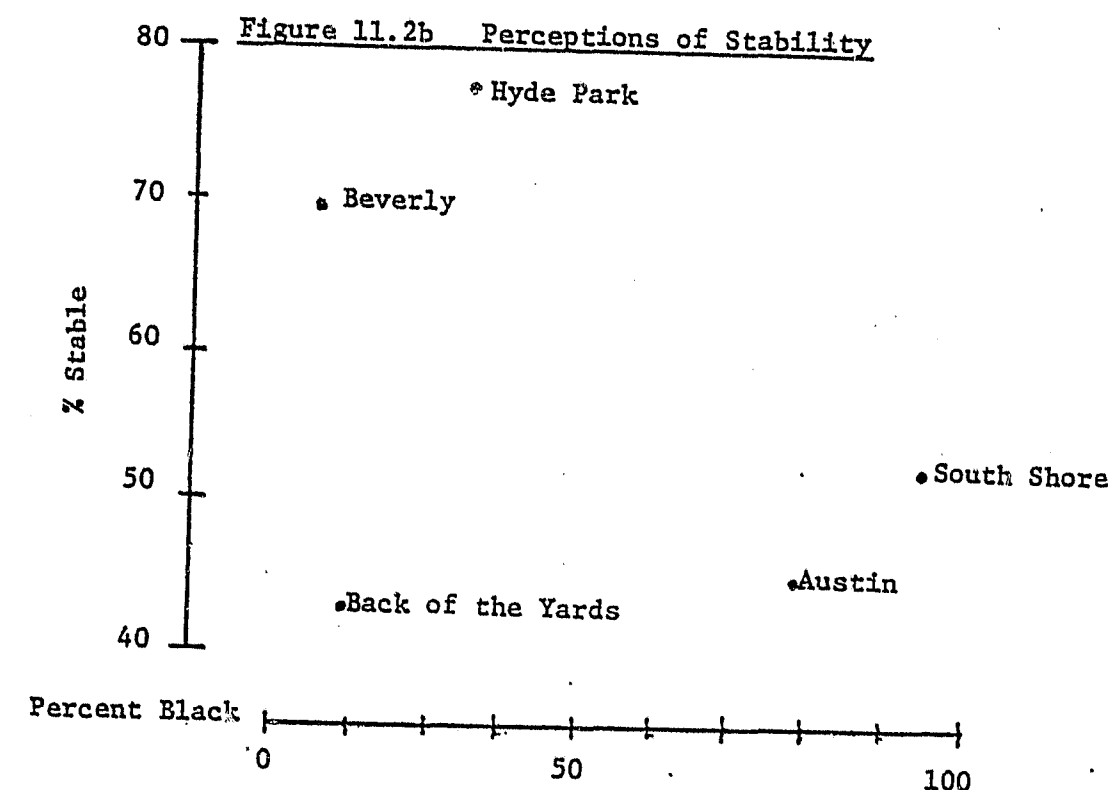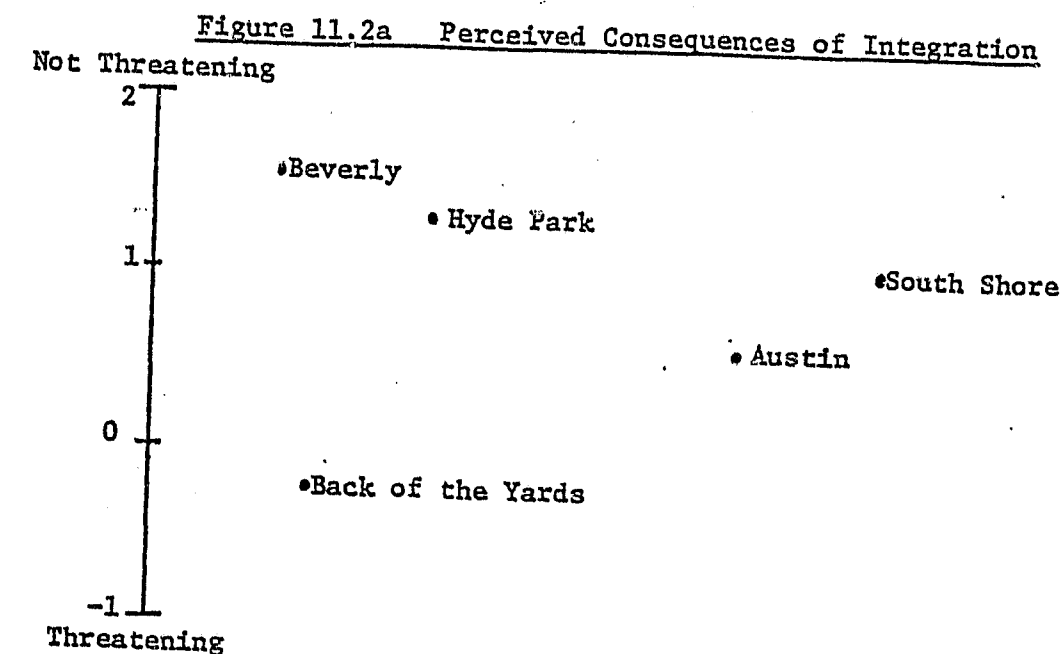
Figure 11.2 Perceived Consequences of Integration and Perceptions of Stability- Black Homeowners

purchase price, because that was all it would be worth subsequently. The
driver of the moving van, having watched black residents walking along the
street as he unloaded the truck, offered (after the truck was half empty) to
reload free of charge and drive the new owner to another location.

Although a growing amount of survey data suggests that whites are
willing to live on a block with one black family, the number willing to do
so as the proportion minority increases drops off dramatically (Farley, et. al.,
1977). Our own data underscore this set of perceptions. If we exclude the
middle class neighborhoods of Beverly, Lincoln Park and Hyde Park/Kenwood, we
find that two-thirds of respondents believe that property values go down
when a few blacks move into the neighborhood. The sense that matters are
precarious and somewhat beyond the control of individual actors is reflected
in the accompanying perception of the two-thirds of our respondents in the
same five neighborhoods (about 60 percent in all the neighborhoods) who believe
that when a few black families move in, panic-peddling realtors follow along.
In short, there is the sense that racial change or its threat introduces a
force which may undermine one's major lifetime investment.

Given people's expectations that matters are precarious, small cues
that, whatever their real cause, might be associated with the threat of immi-
nent deterioration are seized upon and understood in just that way. For this
reason, victimization experience, dissatisfaction with safety, and the pres-
ence of visual flaws in the physical appearance of the neighborhood all
correlate with the perception of racial instability. Each represents a threat
to a home owner's investment.

In the next several pages, we will discuss both these and other
correlates of perceptions of racial stability. We begin by examining these
perceptions among white owners and white renters, pooling the data for all

neighborhoods. On doing this, we are combining information from many dif-
ferent social contexts. The regression results from the pooled analysis
show some of the factors that differentiate areas of the city perceived as
racially stable from those perceived as unstable. Having done this analysis,
we will turn to the correlates of the perception of stability within particu-
lar neighborhoods. When the context is narrowly defined in this way, the
analysis helps us to understand why people with similar information come up
with different assessments of the stability of the area.

White Owners and White Renters. Tables 11.1 - 11.5, located at the
end of this chapter, show the regression results upon which the analyses
discussed here are based. Before turning to these analyses, a few explana-
tory comments are in order, both about the tables themselves and about their
placement.

Table 11.1, for example, shows the nonstandardized slopes for the
best regression model predicting the perceptions of neighborhood racial
stability for white home owners. The slopes are the B coefficients for a
regression equation of the form:

$$y = a + B_1 X_1 + B_2 X_2 + \ldots + B_i X_i + e$$

where: y is the dependent variable

X_i are the predictor variables

At the bottom of the first column is the proportion of explained variance for
the regression model. The first three predictor variables are bracketed be-
cause they are two main effects and an interaction term that must be considered
together in the interpretation of the slopes.

In most cases, the significant terms in the regression equations
involve higher-order interactions that are difficult to interpret without some
other analytic aid. Therefore, we have taken a different approach to presenting

and interpreting the results. For each significant predictor of the dependent variable, we show what percent are estimated to regard the neighborhood as racially stable within each category of the predictor variable, controlling for the other significant predictor variables in the equation. This method for displaying the results is known by some as test factor standardization and by others as response surface modeling.

Among white owners, the perception of neighborhood racial stability depends in part on: whether a person lives on a block that contains the type of housing that is most likely to be occupied by non-whites; on victimization experience; and on features of the neighborhood that give the impression that racial change is well advanced in the community and/or that the negative consequences of racial change cannot be controlled. The strongest correlate of the perception of instability among white owners, however, is dissatisfaction with the investment potential of the neighborhood. Finally, we find that the view that integration does not inevitably lead to neighborhood decline makes a difference in whether the area is perceived as racially stable. But it is in this realm that crime works its most serious effects. Victimization undermines the belief that racial change can be managed in a non-threatening way in white neighborhoods.

Controlling for the other factors mentioned above, white home owners who live on blocks that include frame flats as part of the housing stock are more likely to regard their neighborhood as racially changing. These structures are usually 2- or 3-flats, although sometimes they contain more housing units. We doubt that the relationship between the presence of frame flats and the perception of instability is due to the multiple-family dwelling feature of this kind of housing stock. Other types of multiple-family dwellings such as brick 2- and 3-flats or larger apartment complexes do not make people more nervous about the prospects for neighborhood stability.

Rather, we suspect that the reason for the relationship has to do with the visual appearance of frame flats and the role that this type of housing plays in the early stages of neighborhood change.

During our field work, we noted that frame dwellings and particularly multiple unit frame dwellings appear deteriorated more easily than do buildings constructed of brick or stone. In most cases, at least in our neighborhoods, frame construction looks cheaper and is more likely to have visible flaws on the exterior. Our field studies also found that in some neighborhoods, particularly those where Hispanics are moving in, frame flats are the buildings first purchased for owner-occupancy by an in-migrating group.

Whether the cause is the appearance of untidiness or the knowledge that racial invasion is most likely to occur in areas with frame dwellings, our data show a substantial correlation between the presence of frame flats on a block and people's belief that the neighborhood is racially unstable. The following display illustrates this relationship using our method for modeled or standardized percentages:

Modeled percent perceiving stability for those who do and do not live on a block with frame flats (White Owners)

Presence of	No	71
Frame Flats	Yes	47

Controlling for the other factors in the equation, 71 percent of those who live on a block that does not include frame flats are expected to view the neighborhood as stable. All other things equal, the presence of frame flats reduces the likelihood of this perception by 24 points--the 47 percent.

Just as we have found that the housing stock can make a difference in the perception of stability, we also find that people who live on a block that contains open space, such as a park, playlot, or alley, are more likely to regard their neighborhood as racially changing. The modeled percentages

are shown in the following display:

> Modeled percent perceiving stability for those who do and do
> not live on a block with open space (White Owners)

> Open   No   70
> Space   Yes   57

This relationship is not as strong as the previous one. The percentage

differences can be directly compared as can the absolute values of the

percents--those with open space on the block are more secure about the

neighborhood (57 percent) than those with frame flats on the block (47 percent).

A person with both open space and frame flats on the block is 37 percent less

likely than someone with neither feature to regard the area as stable.

In precarious settings, open spaces are places where litter can

collect and the "wrong" sort of people can loiter. Both of these can be

signs of neighborhood deterioration. The open spaces--especially the parks

and playlots--are also places where children in the neighborhood gather.

Because of race/ethnic differences in both fertility rates and the age struc-

ture, there tends to be a higher proportion of non-white children than non-

white adults in those Chicago neighborhoods where non-whites are present or

nearby. It seems quite plausible that a white owner who lives on a block

where many children play will form a mistaken impression of the racial mix

of the neighborhood and therefore be more likely to regard the neighborhood

as racially changing. In Chapter 8, we saw how a consulting firm took pictures

of school recesses and consequently exaggerated the proportion black in the

neighborhood.

The most important factor in the perception of instability is whether

a person has concluded that neighborhood circumstances are such that investment

is no longer worthwhile and, therefore, one's own investment in the neighbor-

hood is dwindling in value. People who live on blocks where rehabilitation is

under way have direct evidence that someone considers the neighborhood a

worthwhile investment and so are more likely to regard the neighborhood as

stable. On a more general level, white owners who are satisfied with the

way property values are going in the neighborhood are more likely to see the

area as stable. Still another overtone of the relation between investment

potential and stability is tapped by the following question:

> "Suppose a family had saved its money and was thinking about
> buying a house in your neighborhood. In your opinion, would
> they be making a good financial investment, or would they be
> better off investing their money in another neighborhood?"

White owners who would recommend that others invest in the neighborhood are,

all other things equal, more confident about the racial stability of the area.

The relationship between each of these measures of awareness of or satis-

faction with neighborhood investments and the perception of stability is

shown in the following display:

> Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of: rehabili-
> tation in progress on the block; satisfaction with the trend in
> property values; and view of neighborhood investment opportunity.
> (White Owners)

Rehabilitation In Progress		Satisfaction with Property Values		View Of Investment	
Yes	72	High 4	75	Encourage	66
No	62	3	69	Discourage	49
		2	63		
		Low 1	57		

This set of variables is statistically the most important correlate of the

perception of stability because of the contribution to the explained variance.

Substantively, these measures show the relationship between positive expecta-

tions and orientations toward investment--both behaviorally and attitudinally--

and perception of racial stability.

Ideology also plays an important role in the perception of racial

stability. As noted earlier, in general, white home owners who believe that

integration does not necessarily lead to decline are more likely to view their neighborhood as racially stable. Our analysis shows, however, that this relationship holds only for those who have not been victimized. Our modeling methodology is particularly helpful for studying the effects of two simultaneously acting predictor variables. The modeled percentages for the relationship between victimization, attitudes toward integration, and perception of stability are shown in the following display:

Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of perceived consequences of integration, and victimization (White Owners)

Perceived Consequences of Integration Scale Score		Victimized	
		No	Yes
Not threatening	3	71	55
	2	69	57
	1	66	59
	0	63	61
Threatening	-1	60	63

Controlling for all the other forces we have discussed, we discover a positive relationship among those who have not been victimized between believing that a neighborhood need not deteriorate if blacks move in and the perception of racial stability. But the ideology supporting integration is a fragile thing. The historical experience of prejudice, reinforced by the fact that neighborhoods often do change _and_ deteriorate, lurks not far beneath the surface of consciousness. Consequently, the victimization experience seems to wipe out the relationship we have described. The impact of the perceived consequences of integration scale is vitiated once one has been the victim of a crime. Silberman (1978) has pointed out that for victims of crimes, daily life suddenly becomes a more precarious experience, the ordinary more fraught with peril. This finding shows us that this sense of precariousness extends to one's neighborhood.

Before turning to the individual neighborhoods, let us say a word about the perception of stability among white renters. With the exception of large litter on lawns, our measures of housing type and land use quality are not related to perceptions of stability for this group. In general, renters' involvement in and identification with their community is less than that of owners. In addition, they do not have the financial investment in the community that owners do. If a neighborhood does change, the costs to renters are not normally very great; they can simply move on. Consequently, they may not be as attuned to possible signs of deterioration as owners are. However, like white owners who have not been victimized, white renters who believe that deterioration is not an inevitable result of integration are more likely to perceive their neighborhood as stable. The perception of stability is also related to satisfaction with the safety of the neighborhood and with views on the advisability of neighborhood investment.

Working Class Neighborhoods. East Side and Portage Park are working class neighborhoods where racial integration means working class integration and, as we discussed earlier in this chapter, a great deal of fear about the rapid softening of the housing market and the subsequent arrival of the black underclass. East Side is, by our survey, eight percent Hispanic and therefore at the beginning stage of a certain type of racial change. Neither neighborhood has a measurable proportion of blacks, although our field reports indicate that, compared with Portage Park, East Side residents feel much more imminently threatened by black in-migration. East Side is only a bridge length away from a black neighborhood whereas Portage Park is about one mile away.

In East Side, the perception of stability is primarily affected by: whether one lives on a block with visible signs of deterioration; whether one is satisfied with the way property values are going; and whether one believes

that deterioration is inevitable with racial change.

East Side residents who live on blocks where large pieces of litter or visible signs of housing deterioration are present are much more likely, controlling for all other factors, to see the neighborhood as racially unstable. The modeled percentages are shown in the following display:

Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of block conditions (East Side White Owners)

Large Litter on Lawns		Visible Flaws on Housing Facades	
No	59	No	68
Yes	31	Yes	51

These features of the quality of land use are directly observable signs of decline in the appearance of the neighborhood. Such signs are threatening and are translated into the perception of neighborhood instability.

A counter to these threats might occur if rehabilitation were to begin on the block or if one could maintain his/her satisfaction with the way property values are going. Each of these factors indicates some ease about the viability of one's investment in the neighborhood. Each factor is strongly related to the perception of stability, as is shown in the following display:

Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of rehabilitation in progress on the block and satisfaction with property values (East Side White Owners)

Rehabilitation In Progress		Satisfaction with Trend in Property Values	
Yes	73	High 4	80
No	52	3	68
		2	56
		Low 1	44

When we turn to the perceived consequences of integration scale in East Side, we get some insight into the special pattern between that and

perceptions of stability which characterizes the defended working class neighborhood. For one segment of the community, the scale works very much the way it does in the sample as a whole; those who score high are more likely to perceive the neighborhood as stable. However, there is a group for whom the relationship is reversed--that is, they are more likely to see the neighborhood as stable if they believe deterioration is inevitable when change takes place. This group exemplifies the psychology of the defended neighborhood. In this case, they defend themselves by joining organizations "concerned with the quality of community life." They perceive the neighborhood as stable not because of some benign conception of integration, but because they are committed to not letting integration happen. For them, East Side is stable because their organizations will not permit change.

Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of perceived consequences of integration and membership in community organizations (East Side White Owners)

Perceived Consequences of Integration Scale Score	Organizational Membership	
	No	Yes
Not threatening 1	65	44
0	61	48
-1	57	52

In Portage Park, the situation is in some respects similar to East Side and in other respects quite different. There is no direct relation between dissatisfaction with property values and the perception of neighborhood instability in Portage Park. In addition, there is no relation between any of the directly visible signs of neighborhood decline--e.g., litter, deterioration--and fears about instability. Since the general issue of imminent racial change is less salient in Portage Park, there is less of a tendency to jump on specific block or neighborhood problems as signs that something bad is about to happen.

There is, however, a relationship between living on a block with frame flats and the perception of racial change in Portage Park. We mapped out the individual cases in this neighborhood to see if blocks with frame flats were also more likely to contain Hispanic, Filipino and other non-white residents (there are no blacks in our Portage Park sample). This was, in fact, the case. The presence of frame flats is an indicator that a white owner has a higher chance of living on a block that also houses minority residents. White owners in this position in Portage Park are, controlling other factors, a full 37 percent more likely than those who are not in this position to regard the neighborhood as racially unstable.

When we turn to satisfaction with safety, we discover that Portage Parkers are, in their orientation, much like those in East Side who belong to organizations. As shown in the following display, among those satisfied with the safety of their neighborhood, those who are more likely to perceive negative consequences from integration are also more likely to see their neighborhood as stable.

Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of
perceived consequences of integration and satisfaction
with neighborhood safety (Portage Park White Owners)

Perceived Consequences of Integration Scale Score	Satisfaction with Safety Scale Score		
	Low 2	3	High 4
Not threatening 3	*	65	62
2	*	66	66
1	64	67	70
0	62	68	74
Threatening -1	60	69	78

Right now, they know that the neighborhood is stable and that they do not have much of a crime problem. Indeed, these two facts were important in their decision to move to Portage Park. Residents there rank among the highest in

the percentage who viewed "the safety of the neighborhood" (83 percent) and "having neighbors mostly of your own race" (70 percent) as important factors in their decision to move into the neighborhood. They are, then, much like residents in other working class neighborhoods who are prepared to fight integration, because of the negative consequences which they anticipate will follow. In this sense, they demonstrate the psychology of the defended neighborhood that has not yet been called upon to defend itself.

Middle Class Neighborhoods. There are three middle class neighborhoods where there are enough cases to study white perceptions of neighborhood stability: Beverly, where we are able to study white home owners; and Lincoln Park and Hyde Park/Kenwood, where we are able to study white renters. The psychology of neighborhood stability is a little different in each area—the factors that are the most important in maintaining neighborhood confidence vary slightly between the neighborhoods. In Lincoln Park, people are greatly concerned about the usability of public space, in Hyde Park/Kenwood about housing quality, and in Beverly about property values. Crime and victimization are critically important, however, to the perception of stability in all three neighborhoods.

In Lincoln Park, the parks, playgrounds and other open spaces have played an important role in the revitalization of the community. They represent a set of neighborhood amenities that have helped attract the gentrifying white population. The lakefront property has always been a haven for wealthy white residents. In the interior of the neighborhood, parks and open spaces have sometimes provided the geographic focus for redevelopment and rehabilitation projects. Unlike the situation in some other neighborhoods, in Lincoln Park, the parks and open spaces are a neighborhood selling point. Because of this, there is a very strong positive relationship between the presence of these amenities and the perception of stability when people feel

secure enough to enjoy the open areas. When satisfaction with the level of safety is low, there is much less of a positive effect of these neighborhood amenities on confidence in neighborhood stability. The relationship between these factors is shown in the following display:

Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of
satisfaction with safety and the presence of open space
(Lincoln Park White Renters)

Open Space	Satisfaction with Safety Scale Score		
	Low 2	3	High 4
No	49	46	43
Yes	56	69	82

The ability to enjoy the open space affects the quality of life in Lincoln Park in other ways as well. Those who say there is a problem with drug users and bothersome people on the streets are also less likely to be confident in the stability of the neighborhood.

In Hyde Park/Kenwood, there is less concern than in Lincoln Park about the public space and more concern about the quality of housing and land use. Those who live on blocks with vacant lots and/or blocks where the housing has visible signs of deterioration are more likely to see the neighborhood as unstable. There is also a very strong relationship between satisfaction with safety and the perception of stability in Hyde Park/Kenwood. The relations between each of these factors and stability are shown below:

Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of quality
measures and satisfaction with safety (Hyde Park/Kenwood White Renters)

Presence of Vacant Lots		Visible Flaws in Housing Facades		Satisfaction with Safety Scale Score	
No	72	No	74	High 4	86
Yes	53	Yes	60	3	80
				2	74
				1	68
				Low 0	62

As for white owners in general, when we move to white home owners in Beverly, we find that satisfaction with property values is the strongest correlate of the perception of neighborhood stability. Those who are satisfied with the way property values are going are much more certain of neighborhood stability than those who are not. This is shown in the following display:

Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of
satisfaction with the trend in property values (Beverly
White Owners)

Satisfaction with Trend in Property Values	
High 4	89
3	80
2	71
Low 1	62

Our field work found that houses are lower in price in the eastern section of Beverly where most racial integration is occurring. This might explain a great deal of the relationship between satisfaction with appreciation and the perception of stability. This contextual explanation is, however, adjusted for in our equation because the eastern section of the neighborhood is also the area where the housing stock contains the greatest number of flats. The perceived concentration of non-whites in this area is unquestionable. Beverly residents who live on a block with flats are 35 percent more likely than those who do not to say their neighborhood is unstable. After adjusting for this correlation, there is still the strong relationship for all Beverly residents between dissatisfaction with property values and the perception of instability.

The other threat to neighborhood interests that makes a difference in the perception of stability in Beverly is victimization. Controlling all other factors, those who have been victimized are much less positive about the future of the neighborhood.

Victimization also undercuts the perception that integration need not lead to decline. For those who have not been victimized, there is a strong relationship between this scale and the perception of neighborhood stability. For those who have been victimized, the relationship is still present, but is considerably weaker. This is shown in the following display:

Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of
perceived consequences of integration and victimization
(Beverly White Owners)

Perceived Consequences of Integration Scale Score	Victimization	
	No	Yes
Not Threatening 3	94	75
2	83	71
1	72	67
Threatening 0	61	63

Hispanics. In the final part of this chapter, we will combine the responses of Hispanic owners and renters to examine the correlates of the perception of racial stability in this group. We should note that this procedure combines heterogeneous neighborhoods and social classes. Our alternative, however, was to ignore the Hispanics entirely, since there are too few cases for a more narrowly refined analysis.

As with whites in East Side, Hispanics interpret the presence of large litter on the block as a sign of racial instability. And, similarly, for Hispanics, the presence of rehabilitation activity on the block is a positive factor in perceptions of racial stability.

Although Hispanics are less positive than Portage Park whites in their general assessment of the consequences of racial change (the range on the perceived consequences scale is more negative), being satisfied with the safety of the neighborhood has the same effect here that it does among Portage Park whites. Among those who are satisfied, those who are more negative about the consequences of change are less likely to see it occurring.

The relations between these factors are shown in the following display:

Modeled percent perceiving stability as a function of perceived consequences of integration and satisfaction with neighborhood safety (Hispanics)

Perceived Consequences of Integration Scale Score	Satisfaction with Safety Scale Score		
	Low 2	3	High 4
Not Threatening 1	75	74	73
0	72	74	76
-1	69	74	79
-2	66	74	82
Threatening -3	63	74	85

We have now seen that the perception of racial stability is a centrally important factor in how people view their neighborhoods. We have also seen the ways in which crime enters into this perception. We now turn more directly to concerns about crime.

TABLE 11.1

REGRESSION SLOPES FOR THE EQUATION PREDICTING
PERCEIVED RACIAL STABILITY FOR WHITE OWNERS

	Predictor Variable	Slope
1.	Perceived Consequences of Integration	.03
2.	Victimization	-.02
3.	Perceived Consequences*Victimization	-.05
4.	View of Neighborhood Investment Opportunity	.17
5.	Satisfaction with Property Values	.06
6.	Rehabilitation in Progress	.10
7.	Presence of Frame Flats	-.24
8.	Presence of Parks, Alleys or other Open Spaces	-.13

$$R^2 = .16$$

TABLE 11.2

REGRESSION SLOPES FOR THE EQUATIONS PREDICTING
PERCEIVED RACIAL STABILITY FOR WHITE OWNERS
IN PORTAGE PARK, BEVERLY AND EAST SIDE

	Predictor Variable	Portage Park	Beverly	East Side
1.	Education: College v Grade	.33	.16	.18
	High School v Grade	.13	.25	.00
2.	Satisfaction with Property Values		.09	.12
3.	Rehabilitation in Progress			.21
4.	Visible Flaws in Housing Facades			-.17
5.	Large Litter on Lawns			-.28
6.	Presence of Frame Flats	-.37		
7.	Presence of Flats		-.35	
8.	Perceived Consequences of Integration	.08	.11	.04
9.	Victimization	.26	.02	.10
10.	Perceived Consequences*Victimization		-.07	-.08
11.	Satisfaction with Neighborhood Safety	.06	-.10	
12.	Perceived Consequences*Satisfaction with Safety	-.03	-.03	
13.	Membership in Neighborhood Improvement Organizations			-.13
14.	Perceived Consequences*Membership			-.08
15.	Presence of Parks, Alleys, or other Open Spaces	-.18	-.65	-.22
16.	Presence of Parks, etc.*Satisfaction with Safety		.22	
17.	Presence of Parks, etc.*Victimization	-.31		-.44
	$R^2 =$	.26	.23	.24

TABLE 11.3

REGRESSION SLOPES FOR THE EQUATION PREDICTING
PERCEIVED RACIAL STABILITY FOR WHITE RENTERS

Predictor Variable	Slope
1. Perceived Consequences of Integration	.04
2. View of Neighborhood Investment Opportunity	.14
3. Satisfaction with Neighborhood Safety	.05
4. Large Litter on Lawns	-.17

$$R^2 = .14$$

TABLE 11.4

REGRESSION SLOPES FOR THE EQUATIONS PREDICTING
PERCEIVED RACIAL STABILITY FOR WHITE RENTERS
IN LINCOLN PARK AND HYDE PARK/KENWOOD

Predictor Variable	Lincoln Park	Hyde Park/Kenwood
1. Education: College v Less		.22
2. Incivility	-.10	
3. Vacant Lots	-.35	-.19
4. Visible Flaws in Housing Facades		-.14
5. Family Income	.007	
6. Perceived Consequences of Integration	.10	
7. Satisfaction with Neighborhood Safety	-.03	.06
8. Perceived Consequences* Satisfaction with Safety	-.03	
9. Presence of Parks, Alleys or other Open Spaces	-.25	
10. Presence of Parks, etc.* Satisfaction with Safety	.16	
$R^2 =$	.15	.22

TABLE 11.5

REGRESSION SLOPES FOR THE EQUATION PREDICTING
PERCEIVED RACIAL STABILITY FOR HISPANICS

Predictor Variable	Slope
1. Rehabilitation in Progress	.27
2. Large Litter on Lawns	-.22
3. Incivility	-.11
4. Perceived Consequences of Integration	.09
5. Satisfaction with Neighborhood Safety	.02
6. Perceived Consequences* Satisfaction with Safety	-.03

$R^2 = .23$

CHAPTER 12

THE IMPACT OF CRIME: PERCEPTIONS OF RISK

AND SATISFACTION WITH SAFETY

In this chapter, we focus primarily on two aspects of crime--the
perception of risk in the neighborhood and satisfaction with the safety of
the neighborhood. These two measures tap different dimensions of the crime
problem; satisfaction with neighborhood safety involves both different and
a wider range of correlates than does perceived risk. In the next chapter,
we will see that satisfaction with safety also makes much more of a difference
than perceived risk in one's attitude toward neighborhood investment. To
have a basis for interpreting these findings, we begin here with a discussion
of our measures of perception of risk and satisfaction with safety and the
relation between the two.

The measure of perception of risk is based on the following two
questions:

"How much crime would you say there is in your own immediate
neighborhood--a lot, some, or only a little?"

"Would you say that the likelihood you will be a victim of a
crime in your neighborhood during the coming year is high,
moderate or low?"

Responses were scored 1, 2 and 3 to indicate low, moderate or high amounts
of perceived risk and then summed. The result was a skewed variable. Most
of our respondents believe there is little crime and a low probability of
victimization. To avoid some of the problems that arise from outlying cases
on a skewed dependent variable, the top two categories were combined, result-
ing in a range of 1 to 5 for the scale of perceived risk.

The scale of perceived risk was chosen for the analysis because it
has many desirable measurement properties (high variation, reliability, few

contaminating or double-barreled influences in question wording) and yet, at the same time, correlates very highly with many of our other measures of fear and perceptions of crime. These other measures, ranging from statements of fear of one's neighborhood to behaviors that one might have undertaken because of crime, are summarized in Table 12.1. This table shows both the percent of owners and renters in each race/ethnic group who responded positively to the items and how strongly each of the items correlates with the scale of perceived risk.

When the correlation between a measure in Table 12.1 and the scale of perceived risk is high, we can say that the scale of risk is standing for the alternative measure, even though the measure is not included in the scale. On the other hand, when an item does not correlate very strongly with the scale of perceived risk, we have found a domain that is not well represented by our scale, and we should be careful not to generalize to this domain when we discuss the results of the analysis of the scale of perceived risk. In short, the correlations between the items in Table 12.1 and the scale of perceived risk give us a better understanding of what the scale really means—what kinds of fears of and responses to crime are part and parcel of the perception of risk in the neighborhood.

Table 12.1 shows the change in the predicted score on the scale of perceived risk for each of the other measures. A double asterisk means that a one unit increase on the item is associated with a one unit increase on the scale of perceived risk. These items are the ones that could just as well have been used in the scale without substantially changing the pattern of the results. A single asterisk means that the item is associated with a .5 increase in the scale of perceived risk and, thus, is moderately correlated with the scale. The items that are not asterisked do not correlate strongly with the scale and represent fears and behaviors that are largely independent of one's

TABLE 12.1

FEAR OF AND RESPONSES TO CRIME: PERCENT RESPONDING POSITIVELY TO EACH ITEM WITHIN EACH HOUSING MARKET GROUP

Percent Among...

Reactions that Correlate Strongly with Perceived Risk	White Owner	White Renter	Black Owner	Black Renter	Hispanic Owner	Hispanic Renter
1. Often worry about being victimized in the neighborhood	24**	30**	37**	36**	17**	23**
2. Feel uneasy when they hear footsteps	59*	66*	73	74*	54	65*
3. Worry that home will be burglarized	37*	39*	41*	46*	46	54
4. Arrange to walk outdoors with others	30*	37*	42*	43*	34*	35*
5. Afraid to walk at night	61*	73*	69*	61*	66*	60*

Reactions that Correlate Moderately with Perceived Risk						
6. Avoid using public transportation	30	37	32	32*	17	23**
7. Installed a burglar alarm	16	09	21*	13	17*	09**
8. Installed other home security devices	59	50*	63*	62	41*	38*
9. Refused a job due to its unsafe location	11	14	09	14*	18**	13*

Reactions that Correlate Very Weakly with Perceived Risk						
10. Engraved identification on valuables	27	22	36	26	20*	19
11. Selected a residence for its safety features	24	36	35	45	34	34
12. Kept a watchdog	35	22	42	22	32*	19*
13. Kept a gun or other weapon at home	18	14*	39	31	25*	16
14. Would fear a stranger who asked for directions	48	55	60	62*	54	60

** Items that predict approximately a 1.0 unit increase on the scale of perceived risk
* Items that predict approximately a .5 unit increase on the scale of perceived risk

feelings about the level of risk in the neighborhood.

Table 12.1 is organized in three parts to show how the particular items are related to the risk scale. The first set of items are those that are highly correlated with one's perception of the level of risk in the neighborhood. These items include: worry about one's own risk of being victimized; fear of walking in the neighborhood at night; worrying that one's home will be burglarized; feeling uneasy when one hears footsteps outdoors at night; and taking precautions to walk with others when one goes out in the neighborhood. These items are, for almost all purposes, interchangeable with the scale of perceived risk.

The second part of Table 12.1 shows items that are in some cases strongly related to the risk scale, but not uniformly so. These are all behavioral measures that are, presumably, results of one's perception of the level of risk in the neighborhood: avoiding public transportation; installing a burglar alarm; installing other home security devices such as burglar bars; and refusing to take a job because it is located in an unsafe area. It is interesting to note that the relation between these behavioral measures and the perception of risk is strong for blacks and especially so for Hispanics, but almost never significant for whites. When we interpret the risk scale for minorities, we should be aware that there is a behavioral overtone having to do with jobs, home safety, and public transportation that is more pronounced than for whites.

Finally, the third part of Table 12.1 shows the items that do not correlate strongly with the risk scale. It is interesting and occasionally surprising to see the extent of some of these reactions--for instance, over 30 percent of blacks say they have kept a gun or some other weapon at home because of crime--but it should be noted that they are largely independent of the scale of perceived risk. It may be, of course, that having taken

these precautions in some cases decreases the perception of risk. As one South Shore respondent said in response to the question of why there is only a little crime in the neighborhood, "They shoot back. They believe in protecting themselves--the neighbors."

We see from this small scaling study that perceived risk correlates highly with many, but not all, of our other measures. Thus, when we discuss the risk scale, we should recognize that we are largely discussing fear of the streets, worries of personal victimization and fear of home invasion.

The scale of satisfaction with the level of safety in the neighborhood was based on the following two items:

> "We'd like to know how satisfied you are right now with various things in your neighborhood . . . Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with:
>
> The reputation of your neighborhood
>
> The safety of the neighborhood."

Each item was scored -2 to 2 and the two were added together for a satisfaction with safety scale ranging from -4 to 4. Our finding that the "reputation" and "safety" questions were a single, scalable factor is consistent with previous findings (Campbell, et al, 1976). Most respondents were satisfied with each aspect of their neighborhood--the average scale score is around 2.0--but the responses were not so extreme as to require special methods for dealing with skewed or truncated variables.

The literature on the "quality of life" focuses a great deal of attention on the measurement and interpretation of satisfaction. Some of these studies deal very broadly with satisfaction in all areas of life (e.g., Andrews and Withey, 1976; Campbell, Converse and Rodgers, 1976; Watts and Free, 1974). Others deal more narrowly with neighborhood satisfaction and, as a primary component thereof, satisfaction with the level of safety in the neighborhood (e.g., Liu, 1975; Marans and Rodgers, 1974; Milbrath and Sahr, 1975).

One of the intellectual riddles of the quality of life studies has been to understand the relation between one's level of satisfaction and the objective circumstances of one's life. Different types of studies have yielded different results, leading to the general conclusion that any study of the relation between satisfaction and objective circumstances requires careful analysis and explanation. For instance, depending on the unit of analysis and one's choice of synchronic or diachronic methods, the relationship between happiness and income is positive, negative or zero:

(a) At the individual level, those with more income say they are happier (a positive relationship) (Gurin, Veroff and Feld, 1960); but

(b) As real income levels have increased, the level of happiness reported in national surveys has stayed the same (a zero relationship, true for the U. S. and other Western countries) (Easterlin, 1973); and, to complicate things further,

(c) Areas of the U. S. where the level of income is, on average, lower (rural areas, the South) often show higher levels of reported happiness (a negative relationship) (Marans and Wellman, 1978; Taylor, 1980).

In his most recent book, The Sense of Well Being in America (1981), Angus Campbell undertakes a heroic summary of the quality of life literature and introduces several guideposts for understanding the meaning of satisfaction reports. He states that:

Satisfaction-dissatisfaction is a function of the gap the individual perceives between his or her present situation and the situation or status he or she aspires to, expects or feels entitled to. Change in satisfaction level may result from a change in perceived situation or a change in aspiration level or both. (p. 24)

The difference between satisfaction and objective reports of objective environmental circumstances is that:

Satisfaction implies an act of judgment, a comparison of what people have to what they think they deserve, expect or may reasonably aspire to. If this discrepancy is small, the result is satisfaction; if it is large, there is dissatisfaction (p. 22) . . .

Satisfaction is a more cognitive process than feeling the pleasant or unpleasant experiences of life, less immediate, more dependent on judgmental comparison of one's present circumstances with what is thought to be an appropriate standard. People's circumstances change but their standards of judgment tend to accomodate to these changes and their levels of satisfaction tend to remain constant.

We believe that these guides to the meaning of satisfaction reports help us understand our finding that satisfaction with the safety of a neighborhood can be quite high even though the perceived level of risk is also quite high because other neighborhood amenities make living in the neighborhood worth it. A person can live in a high risk area and still be satisfied with the level of safety if, for instance, there is high quality housing, there are desirable public spaces nearby, the neighborhood is close to where the person works, or the person thinks the situation in the neighborhood is bad, but also believes that things will improve.

Figure 12.1 illustrates the relationship between perceived level of risk and satisfaction with safety in our eight neighborhoods. The x-axis shows the average neighborhood score on the scale of risk; the y-axis shows the average neighborhood score on the scale of satisfaction. The line has been drawn in free hand to draw attention to the general pattern of data points. The low risk neighborhoods--Beverly, Portage Park, and East Side--are all relatively high on the satisfaction scale. The middle and high risk neighborhoods show little systematic relationship with satisfaction; some are low satisfaction areas, some are high.

Given the magnitude of the differences generally between our six ethnic/ownership status groups, it might be suggested that there is a compositional effect operating here. If this were so, we would expect the pattern in Figure 12.1 to disappear when the neighborhood housing market composition is taken into account. In fact, this does not occur. With one exception, the housing market groups within any neighborhood are closely clustered around the

Figure 12.1 Perceived Risk of Victimization in the Neighborhood and
Satisfaction with the Safety and Reputation of the Neighborhood
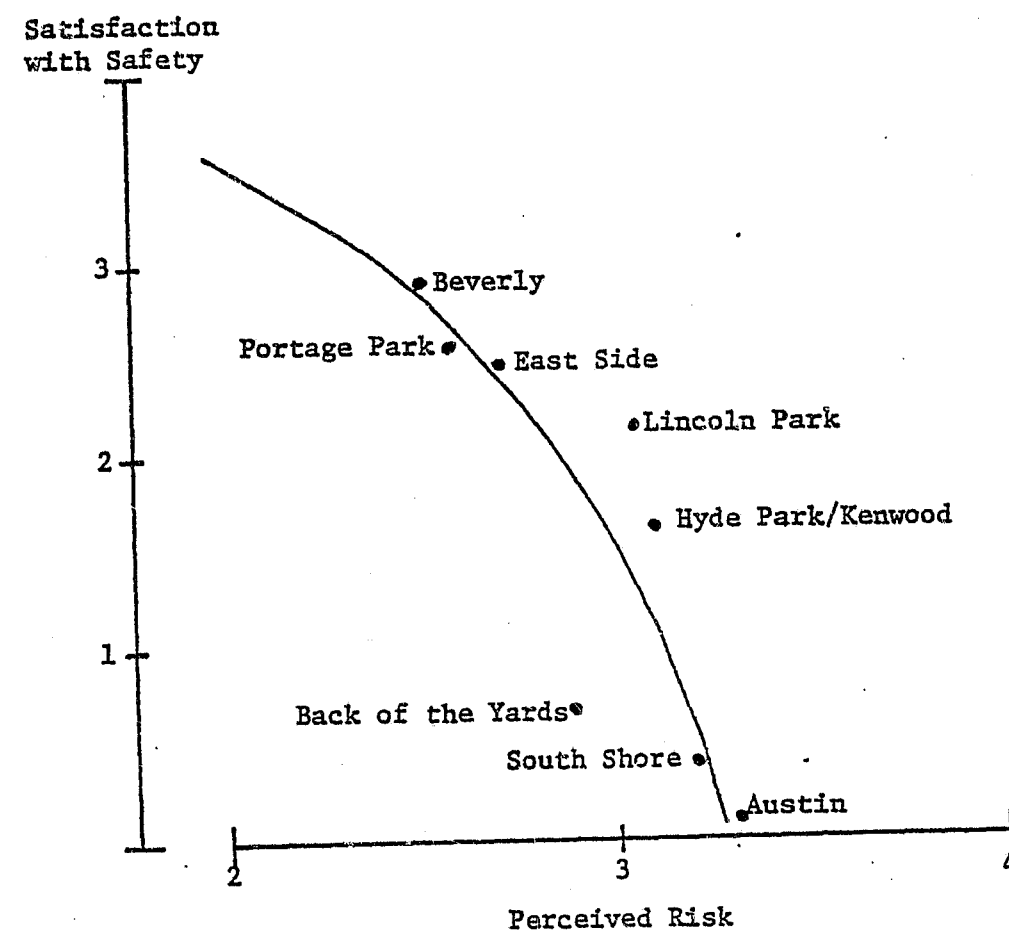
average neighborhood score on each dimension in Figure 12.1. This clustering is shown in Figure 12.2.

Part a, the upper half of Figure 12.2, shows the group scores within the Beverly, Hyde Park/Kenwood and Back of the Yards neighborhoods. Part b, the lower half of Figure 12.2, shows the group clusters for East Side, Lincoln Park and Austin. Because of space limitations, the neighborhoods of Portage Park and South Shore are not shown. If they were on the graph, Portage Park would overlap almost completely with Beverly, and South Shore would overlap with Austin.

The principal finding from Figure 12.2 is that the pattern of neighborhood differences shown in Figure 12.1 is not due to compositional effects. The general relationship between risk and satisfaction still holds: low risk means high satisfaction; high risk means variability in satisfaction depending on the circumstances of the neighborhood.

The one neighborhood that clusters poorly is Back of the Yards. In this neighborhood, the pattern of scores reflects the overall pattern of differences between neighborhoods: the low risk groups are relatively high on satisfaction; the high risk groups show variability. What defines the variability in group profiles is ethnicity. In Back of the Yards, Hispanics are the group with the lowest perceived risk and the highest satisfaction, whites make up the high risk-high satisfaction group, and blacks are the high risk-low satisfaction group.

It would be easy to generalize from the pattern in Back of the Yards and say that compared to whites, Hispanics are disproportionately well-satisfied with their opportunities for urban living, and blacks are dispro-portionately on the low end of the subjective rating scales--even when the three groups are describing more or less the same set of objective neighborhood circumstances.

Figure 12.2 Perceived Risk of Victimization and Satisfaction with Safety and
Reputation of the Neighborhood by Housing Market
Composition Within Neighborhood

Figure 12.2a

Figure 12.2b

WO	White Owner
WR	White Renter
BO	Black Owner
BR	Black Renter
HO	Hispanic Owner
HR	Hispanic Renter
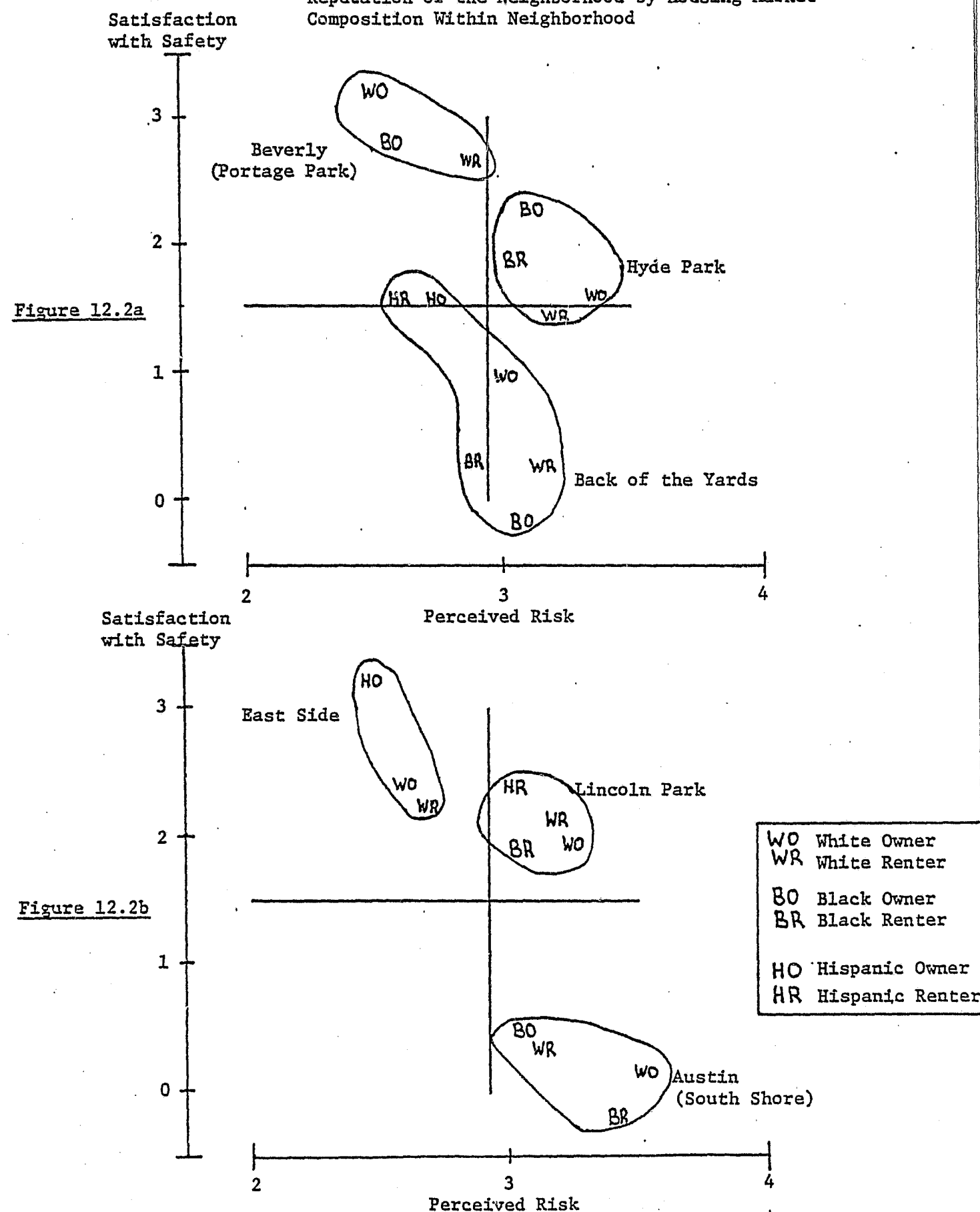
When we look at the other neighborhoods, however, the patterns in Figure 12.2 do not support this generalization. Within any of the other neighborhoods, the average scores for blacks on either dimension are about the same as the average scores for the white groups. There are strong black-white racial differences in risk and satisfaction with neighborhood safety when we pool the data for all eight neighborhoods. If we try to statistically adjust or explain these differences by, for instance, controlling for victimization or any of several social class measures, we explain some of the difference but never the whole amount. The residual race difference, after statistical controls, is described in the literature as the effect of discrimination, black demoralization, or some other unmeasured, racially-linked variable. What we have found in Figure 12.2 is that within the neighborhoods in our analysis, there is generally very little difference between blacks and whites in reactions to crime. With precise contextual measures and contextual controls, then, the overall race difference in our sample disappears. The importance of this finding for the literature is that the persisting black-white difference on many of these measures may possibly be explained by incomplete or inadequate measurements of the neighborhood context of the survey respondents.

We see, then, that the neighborhood is of primary importance in explaining the variation in survey responses to questions of perceived risk and satisfaction with neighborhood safety. We now turn from the relationship between these two measures to an examination of the correlates of each within each neighborhood. Here, there are significant differences between whites, blacks, Hispanics, owners and renters. Therefore, the analysis within any neighborhood could not pool the responses for the groups defined by these variables. However, most neighborhoods contain significant proportions of only one or two of the ethnic/ownership status groups; consequently, in the

subsequent analyses, we restrict our statistical conclusions to the one or two groups that live in great numbers in the area. Thus, for Beverly, we analyze the responses of white owners, white renters and black renters are considered in Hyde Park/Kenwood, and so on.

Table 12.2 shows the nonstandardized regression slopes for the equations predicting the perceived level of risk within each neighborhood. Reading across the columns of Table 12.2, we see that the most important single factor, in the sense that the slopes are strong and significant in every neighborhood, is the presence of bothersome people and/or drug users on the streets. These measures were based on similar questions about the level of "incivility" analyzed in the various reports published by the Center for Urban Affairs at Northwestern University. As an example of how to interpret the slopes, in Beverly, for each point increase on the incivility scale, there is an increase of .27 in the predicted score on the scale of perceived risk. A person who reports that both drug users and bothersome people are somewhat of a problem in the area is, on average, .54 points higher on the scale of perceived risk. The effect of incivility on perceived risk is greatest among renters, and especially among renters in Hyde Park/Kenwood, Lincoln Park, and Austin. These three neighborhoods also have among the highest crime rates.

Not surprisingly, the experience of victimization has a fairly consistent, large effect on the perception of risk in the neighborhood. Victimization is defined as whether the respondent or a household member experienced any sort of personal or property crime in the neighborhood in the last year. In each neighborhood, those who report a personal or household victimization are about .2 to .5 points higher on the scale of perceived risk than those who do not report such an event. The major exception is black home owners; in each neighborhood where there are enough such respondents to make the

TABLE 12.2

REGRESSION SLOPES FOR THE EQUATIONS PREDICTING PERCEIVED RISK WITHIN EACH NEIGHBORHOOD

	Beverly White Owner	Portage Park White Owner	East Side White Owner	Lincoln Park White Renter	Hyde Park/ Kenwood White Renter	Hyde Park/ Kenwood Black Renter	South Shore Black Owner	South Shore Black Renter	Austin Black Owner	Austin Black Renter
Incivility	.27	.36	.22	.49	.54	.74	.33	.24	.17	.42
Neighborhood Deterioration	.21		.12						.15	
Victimization	.46		.20	.17	.38	.17		.35		.36
Vandalism			.62					.33		
Sex		.29	.30							
Single								-.39		
Avoid Public Transportation					.42	.13		.49		
Select Safe Home				.17						
Presence of Parks, etc.				.24	.10	.44		.23		.16
R^2	.18	.13	.28	.22	.35	.29	.11	.34	.33	.31

analysis, there is no effect of victimization on the level of perceived risk, controlling for the other factors shown.

The most interesting pattern among the remaining coefficients shows the effect of certain objective environmental features on the level of perceived risk. For home owners, there is a fairly consistent relation between the presence of visible signs of neighborhood deterioration and the perception of greater risk of victimization. The neighborhood deterioration scale is based on respondents' reports of problems with garbage, unkept lawns, absentee landlords, abandoned homes or vacant lots. The presence of these signs of deterioration is an alarming sign for home owners, but not necessarily for renters.

Renters are more affected by the physical features and usability of the public space in the area. In most neighborhoods, renters who say they have avoided public transportation because of fear of crime are more likely to perceive risk in the area. Similarly, renters who live on blocks where there are playgrounds, alleys, or other open spaces perceive a greater risk of victimization.

Table 12.3 shows the regression slopes for the equations predicting scores on the scale of satisfaction with safety. As in Table 12.2, the regression equations are estimated on the available data within each neighborhood.

Once again, the presence of bothersome people and/or drug users is an important correlate of satisfaction in almost every neighborhood. As before, the effects of incivility are greatest in the neighborhoods where the crime rates are also the highest—Lincoln Park, Hyde Park/Kenwood, South Shore, and Austin. The direct experience of victimization is also an important correlate of dissatisfaction in some of the neighborhoods. These are also neighborhoods where victimization strongly predicted the perception of risk. On the other hand, there are a few neighborhoods where victimization

TABLE 12.3

REGRESSION SLOPES FOR THE EQUATIONS PREDICTING
SATISFACTION WITH SAFETY WITHIN EACH NEIGHBORHOOD

	Beverly White Owner	Portage Park White Owner	East Side White Owner	Lincoln Park White Renter	Hyde Park/Kenwood White Renter	Hyde Park/Kenwood Black Renter	South Shore Black Owner	South Shore Black Renter	Austin Black Owner	Austin Black Renter
Incivility	-.30	-.20		-.99	-.47	-.90	-.93	-.33	-.43	-.92
Neighborhood Deterioration	-.28	-.22	-.58			-.42	-.23	-.37	-.25	
Perceived Stability	.82	.82		1.28	1.05		.46		.26	
Victimization	-.55		-.84					-.33		-1.00
Vandalism										
Presence of Flats			-.40							
Abandoned Units										
Avoid Public Transportation				-1.36						
Psychological Attachment						.41		.43		1.48
R^2	.15	.15	.27	.35	.14	.40	.27	.30	.20	.36

predicts risk, but not satisfaction. Finally, as with perceived risk, victimization does not affect satisfaction with safety among black home owners.

Signs of deterioration come into full play as a predictor of dissatisfaction with safety in almost every neighborhood. The evidence of disorder from garbage and neglect affects both renters and owners in their level of satisfaction with the safety of the neighborhood.

For black renters, Table 12.3 shows that the feeling that the neighborhood is "a real home and not just a place to live" is a strong correlate of satisfaction with the level of safety. For black owners and for whites, satisfaction with the safety of the neighborhood is strongly correlated with the perception that the neighborhood is racially stable. Neither of these factors affects the perceived level of risk; but, whatever the level of risk, each increases the satisfaction with the safety of the neighborhood.

The question of whether the neighborhood is a real home or just a place to live is a measure of psychological attachment and, as such, represents something like a summary statement about positive neighborhood qualities. Why this relationship is present only for black renters is not completely clear, but it may have to do with the historically precarious position of this group in the housing market. It may be that having found a neighborhood to which one can feel attached leads one to be satisfied with safety even though the risk of victimization is also perceived to be high.

As we discussed in Chapter 11, the issue of stability includes not only the race component, but also a social class component. Thus, our finding that the relationship between perceived stability and satisfaction with safety is present for black owners as well as for whites is explicable in terms of

black middle class concerns that lower class blacks will move into the neighborhood. In both cases, then, the perception of stability reflects one's assessment about the future of the neighborhood. In the absence of the sense of precariousness generated by uncertainty about racial stability, people are satisfied with the safety of the neighborhood in spite of high perceived risk.

In line with our earlier discussion about the meaning of the perceived risk and satisfaction with safety measures, we see that risk is more narrowly a report of objective conditions whereas satisfaction involves other considerations. Risk is affected primarily by incivility, victimization, and environmental features. Satisfaction with safety is also affected by these things, although to different degrees and in somewhat different ways. Satisfaction with safety is also, however, affected by more global assessments about the present or future quality of the neighborhood.

Hispanics and Some Observations About Ethnic Differences

The Hispanics in our study are concentrated in East Side, where about half own their homes, and in Back of the Yards, where most are renters. In the tables analyzed in the previous section, there were never enough cases to analyze Hispanics separately within any particular neighborhood. In this section, we will pool the Hispanic home owners from the different neighborhoods to compare their responses with those of black and white home owners. Similarly, we will pool all Hispanic renters to compare their responses with black and white renters'.

We noted in the discussion of the ethnic differences in Back of the Yards that, in that neighborhood, Hispanics are the most secure and most satisfied group. When the results are pooled for all neighborhoods, this pattern does not exactly hold. Although Hispanic owners and renters are more positive on each measure than black owners and renters, they are somewhere between white

owners and renters in aggregate levels of perceived risk and satisfaction with safety. The scores for owners and renters in each racial/ethnic group, pooling the data for all neighborhoods, are shown in Figure 12.3.

Table 12.4 shows the regression slopes for the equations predicting perceived risk among Hispanic owners and among Hispanic renters. These slopes can be compared with the slopes in Table 12.2 as well as with those for whites and for blacks also shown in Table 12.4.

As with black owners, Hispanic owners are not affected by victimization in their assessment of the level of risk in the neighborhood. The principal finding from Table 12.4, however, is that we do not do well at all in explaining the sources of the perception of risk among Hispanic owners. The only correlate is the presence of deterioration and neglect on the block, and the overall proportion of explained variance attributable to this cause is small.

As with white and black renters, Hispanic renters are affected by incivility and fears of public transportation in their assessment of the level of risk in their neighborhood. Here, the predictor variables do a better job in explaining the pattern of Hispanic responses.

Table 12.5 shows the regression slopes for the equations predicting satisfaction with safety in the Hispanic owner and renter populations. Unlike the black and white populations, the concerns of Hispanic owners are not related to the perception of racial stability and the concerns of Hispanic renters are not tied to feelings that the neighborhood is a home. What does come through quite strongly in the Hispanic population is the relation between satisfaction with safety and reports of objective circumstances in the neighborhood that make the area seem less safe and of lower quality. These objective circumstances are incivility and our measure of deterioration/neglect. As with the black and white populations, these are quite strong determinants

Figure 12.3 Perceived Risk of Victimization in the Neighborhood and Satisfaction with the Safety and Reputation of the Neighborhood by Housing Market Composition
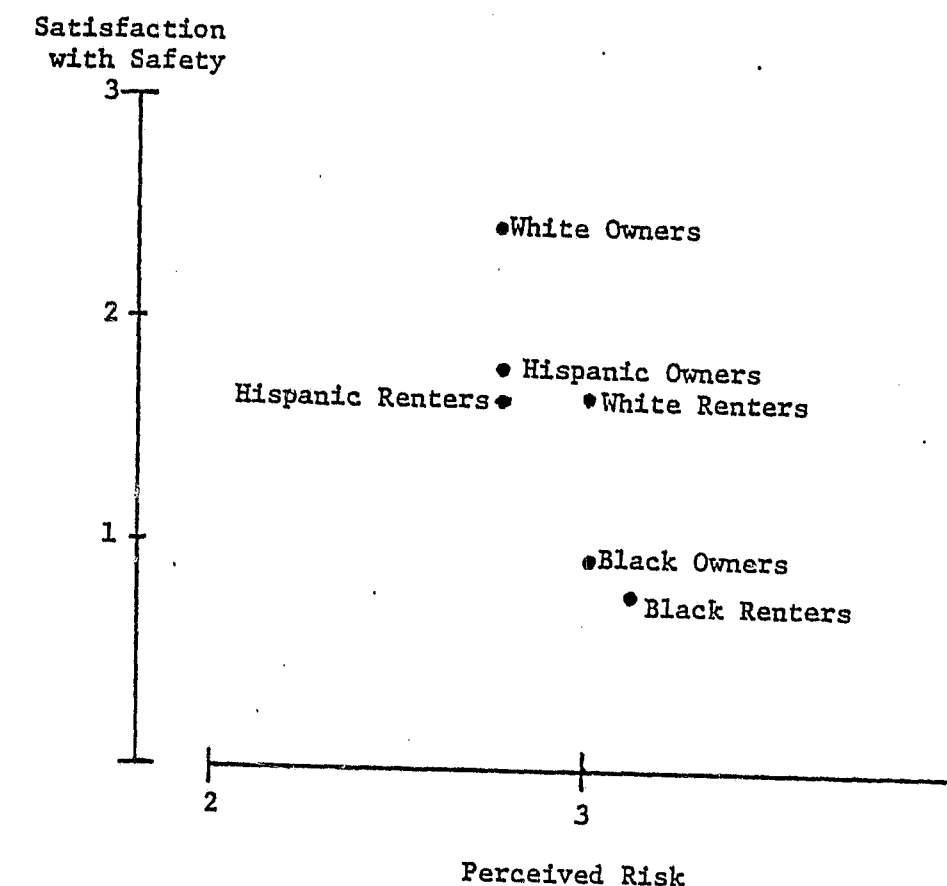
TABLE 12.4

REGRESSION SLOPES FOR THE EQUATIONS PREDICTING
PERCEIVED RISK WITHIN EACH HOUSING MARKET GROUP

	White Owner	Black Owner	Hispanic Owner	White Renter	Black Renter	Hispanic Renter
Incivility	.20	.28		.27	.29	.33
Neighborhood Deterioration	.12	.16	.07	.08		
Victimization	.40			.37	.33	
Vandalism	.47				.29	
Sex	.18					
Single		-.49				
Avoid Public Transportation				.38	.35	.49
Select Safe Home				.16		
Presence of Parks, etc.				.24	.25	
R^2	.21	.34	.06	.27	.29	.24

TABLE 12.5

REGRESSION SLOPES FOR THE EQUATIONS PREDICTING
SATISFACTION WITH SAFETY WITHIN EACH HOUSING MARKET GROUP

	White Owner	Black Owner	Hispanic Owner	White Renter	Black Renter	Hispanic Renter
Incivility	-.29	-.55	-.80	-.68	-.51	-.63
Neighborhood Deterioration	-.29	-.52	-.27	-.20	-.33	-.32
Stable	.58	1.13		1.07		
Victimization	-.79				-.61	
Vandalism			-1.65			
Presence of Flats	-.48					
Abandoned Units	-2.81					
Sex			-1.14			
Avoid Public Transportation				-.54		
Psychological Attachment					.88	
R^2	.21	.44	.56	.27	.38	.29

of satisfaction with safety in the Hispanic population.

Hispanic owners are the only group in our analysis whose satisfaction with safety is affected by whether or not their home has been vandalized. The relations between victimization and satisfaction have been variable throughout this chapter, but it is interesting to note that, for this particular group, vandalism and its possible association with gang activity is a particularly upsetting phenomenon.

CHAPTER 13

RACE, CRIME AND NEIGHBORHOOD INVESTMENT

As we have suggested throughout our discussion, the final approach to the question of neighborhood maintenance must be economic. How do social forces align themselves to encourage or discourage investment in urban neighborhoods? In this chapter, we will isolate those characteristics of neighborhoods and those experiences of individuals which are most important for creating positive attitudes toward investment opportunities. Because of our focus on orientations toward investment and investment activity, we will here analyze only the responses of home owners. A more thoroughgoing analysis would include similar questions for landlords in areas with substantial numbers of multiple family dwellings. Because of their relative absence in our survey, however, they will not be included in the analysis.

We have constructed a two item investment satisfaction scale as the primary dependent variable for the analysis in this chapter. The investment satisfaction scale is made up of the following two survey questions:

> "We'd like to know how satisfied you are right now with various things in your neighborhood...Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way property values are going?"

> "Suppose a family had saved its money and was thinking about buying a house in your neighborhood. In your opinion, would they be making a good financial investment, or would they be better off investing their money in another neighborhood?"

Satisfaction with the trend in property values was scored -2 to +2 as was the respondent's recommendation concerning investment inside (+2) or outside (-2) the neighborhood. The resulting investment satisfaction

scale ranges from -4 to +4. The average neighborhood scores on this scale for home owners are shown in Table 13.1

TABLE 13.1

AVERAGE NEIGHBORHOOD SCORES ON INVESTMENT
SATISFACTION SCALE FOR HOME OWNERS

Neighborhood	White Owners	Black Owners	Hispanic Owners
Portage Park	2.6	-	-
Lincoln Park	3.1	-	-
Austin	.3	.1	-
Back of the Yards	- .1	- .7	.8
Beverly	3.2	2.9	-
Hyde Park/Kenwood	2.1	2.5	-
South Shore	-	1.1	-
East Side	2.0	-	2.2
TOTAL OWNERS	2.3	1.0	1.1

The investment satisfaction scale is directly economic in nature. In addition to the items constituting it, we also asked respondents how satisfied they were with "the quality of housing for the money" and "the general appearance of the streets, grounds, and buildings in the area." These latter measures, although having an economic overtone, are more inclusive assessments of the quality of the neighborhood. We assume that dissatisfaction with these more general aspects of the neighborhood contributes to the assumption that investment in the neighborhood is not worthwhile. Therefore, we constructed a quality/appearance scale from these two items which we will employ

as a predictor of people's willingness to invest in the neighborhood. In later sections of this chapter, we will consider full regression models for investment satisfaction which incorporate as predictor variables this scale as well as responses to crime, perceptions of racial stability, and other individual and neighborhood characteristics. First, however, we extend our discussion in Chapter 12 of the different responses to crime and introduce the analysis of investment satisfaction by considering the relations between these variables.

Investment Satisfaction and Responses to Crime

Figure 13.1 shows the average scores on the perceived risk and investment satisfaction scales for the white, black, and Hispanic owners in each neighborhood. The pattern in Figure 13.1 is similar to that between perceived risk and satisfaction with safety found in Chapter 12. Beverly, East Side, and Portage Park are areas where risk is low and investment satisfaction is high. Austin and Back of the Yards are areas where risk is moderate to high and investment satisfaction is low. South Shore, Hyde Park/Kenwood, and Lincoln Park are areas where risk is relatively high, but investment satisfaction also ranges from moderate to high.

At the aggregate neighborhood level, there is no relationship between perception of risk and investment satisfaction. This does not mean that crime and/or fear of crime are unrelated to neighborhood investment, but rather that this particular reaction to crime is not the component of the "crime problem" that is most directly discouraging to neighborhood investment.

Figure 13.1   Perceived Risk of Victimization in the Neighborhood
               and Neighborhood Investment Satisfaction for Home Owners
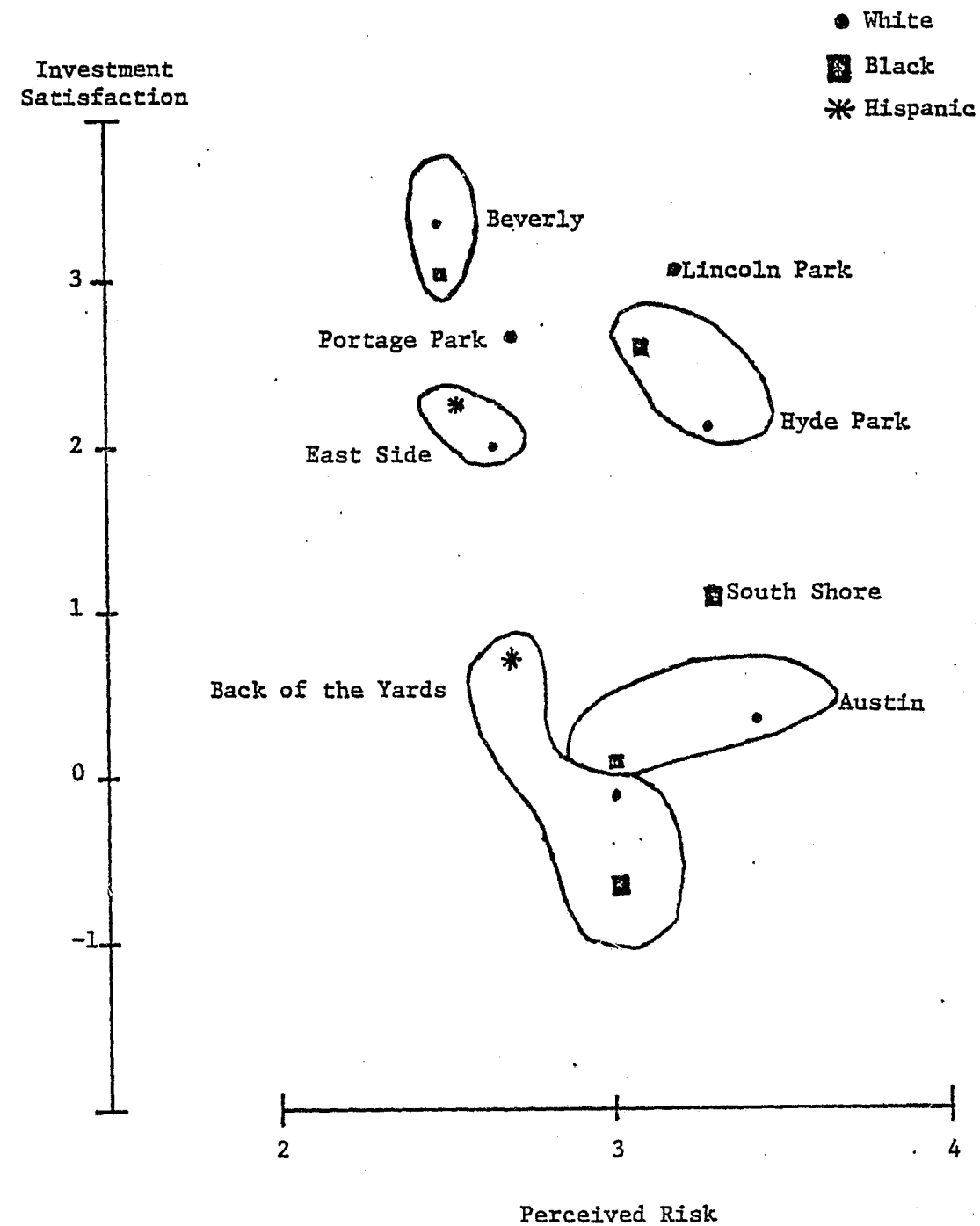
The "crime problem" is discouraging to neighborhood investment
when it changes the level of satisfaction people have with the safety
and reputation of the neighborhood. The neighborhood scores for invest-
ment satisfaction as a function of the satisfaction with safety scale are
graphed in Figure 13.2. The relationship between these two factors at
the neighborhood level is quite strong.

We learned in the last chapter that perception of risk, incivility,
and sometimes victimization are among the factors that affect satisfaction
with the safety of the neighborhood. However, satisfaction with safety
also included more general considerations about the present or future
quality of the neighborhood. It is this questioning about the future of
the area or the value of residing there because of crime that affects
the level of investment satisfaction. In the remainder of this chapter,
we will examine in a more detailed way how this conclusion applies in
Chicago neighborhood housing markets.

White Owners and an Overview of Other Results

White home owners represent the single largest source of private
investment in urban neighborhoods. Furthermore, their standards for
evaluating neighborhoods tend to become those of other key actors in the
urban development arena, including banks, city government, and even home
owners in other racial/ethnic groups. As we discussed in Chapter 1, one
of the reasons for the deterioration of urban housing stock is that
whites are leaving so fast that housing prices decline because supply
exceeds demand.

In this section, we will study the determinants of investment

Figure 13.2   Satisfaction with the Safety and Reputation of the
Neighborhood and Neighborhood Investment Satisfaction
for Home Owners
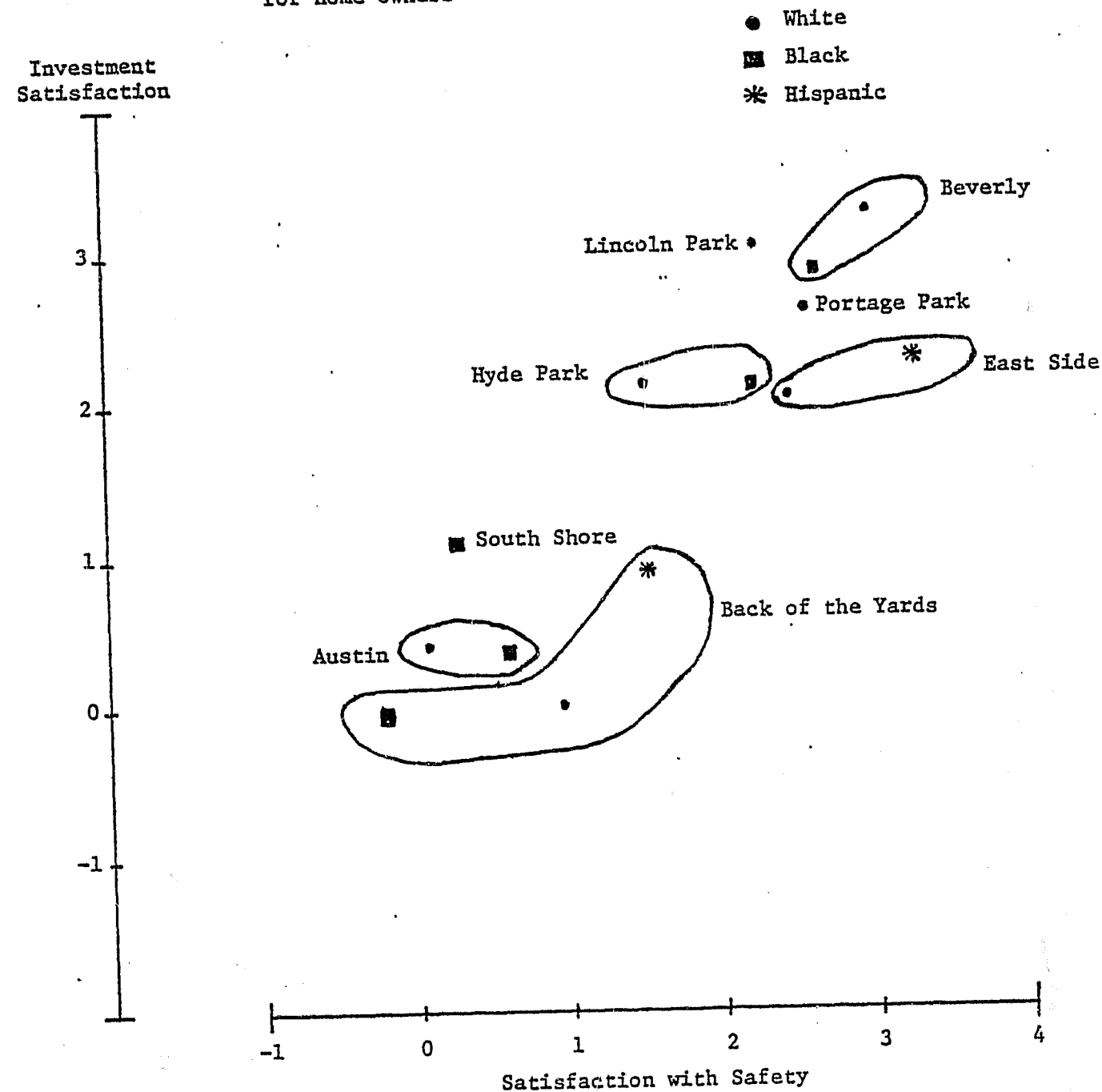
satisfaction for white home owners. We will do this two ways: first, by pooling the data for white owners in all eight neighborhoods; then, by analyzing the responses of white owners within the three particular neighborhoods where there are enough cases for a separate analysis—Portage Park, Beverly, and East Side. As we discussed in Chapter 11, there are some important conceptual and methodological differences between these two types of analysis. The pooled analysis aggregates several different environmental contexts, whereas the within-neighborhood analysis is a study of the more restricted range of circumstances in a particular context. In the present case, the first kind of analysis shows some of the factors that differentiate good and bad housing markets in the city. Within the specific neighborhoods, the focus is more on the preferences and experiences that make the area seem like a good rather than a bad place to make one's home.

We begin the analysis by considering the effect of satisfaction with housing quality and neighborhood appearance on investment satisfaction. Table 13.2 shows the relation between the quality/appearance scale and the investment satisfaction scale. For each race/ethnic group and in every neighborhood except Beverly, the scale of satisfaction with quality and appearance is one of the strongest predictors of investment satisfaction.

One feature of Table 13.2 is that it standardizes for the reported level of satisfaction with appearance and quality, and then shows how much investment satisfaction is "produced" at that level for each race/ethnic group and for each neighborhood. Table 13.2 shows that a given level of satisfaction with quality/appearance means more investment satisfaction and presumably more willingness to invest

TABLE 13.2

STANDARDIZED SCALE SCORES FOR THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SATISFACTION
WITH HOUSING QUALITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD APPEARANCE, AND INVESTMENT
SATISFACTION FOR RACE/ETHNIC GROUPS POOLED AND BY NEIGHBORHOOD

Satisfaction with Quality/Appearance		White Owners			Hispanic Owners Pooled	Black Owners		
	Pooled	Portage Park	East Side	Beverly		Pooled	South Shore	Austin
Low	-1	*	*	*	*	*	.4	.3	-.4
	0	1.6	1.5	1.5		.0	.8	.9	.0
	1	1.9	2.0	1.8		.6	1.2	1.5	.4
	2	2.3	2.4	2.0		1.1	1.6	2.1	.8
	3	2.6	2.8	2.3		1.7	2.0	2.7	1.1
High	4	2.9	3.3	2.6		2.2	*	*	*

* too few cases to predict accurately

for whites than it does for blacks and Hispanics. Among those living in neighborhoods that rate a "3" on the quality/appearance scale, for example, whites rate the investment opportunities 2.6, blacks rate investment 2.0, and Hispanics 1.7. The reason for this may be that each of the minority groups sees its own presence as a depressant on the future market or that, because of generally lower incomes, one cannot be confident that other people will invest at levels sufficient to maintain neighborhood quality even if one does invest oneself. We will pursue aspects of these explanations in later parts of this chapter.

In the remainder of this section, we will examine the further correlates of investment satisfaction among white owners. Among the most important of these is a cluster of variables indicating experiences with and responses to crime.

We noted in the discussion of Figure 13.2 that satisfaction with the safety and reputation of the neighborhood is a determinant of investment satisfaction when the analysis is based on a comparison of aggregate neighborhood scores. This continues to be true when individuals are compared pooling

over neighborhoods and a number of control variables are introduced. As with the earlier analysis, perceptions of risk, fear of crime, and other subjective reactions to crime do not affect investment satisfaction (apart from their indirect contribution because of their effect on satisfaction with safety). However, dissatisfaction with safety, avoiding public transportation because of crime, and vandalism are all factors that lead white owners to be less certain that investment is worthwhile. The modeled scale scores for the relations between each of these measures and investment satisfaction are shown below:

Modeled scores for the relation between reactions to crime and investment satisfaction (White Owners)

Satisfaction with Safety Scale Score			Avoid Public Transport			Vandalism		
	Low 0	1.9	Avoid Public	No	2.4	Vandalism	No	2.4
	1	2.1	Transport	Yes	2.1		Yes	1.9
	2	2.3						
	3	2.4						
	High 4	2.6						

These modeled scores show that, in general, people's responses to crime make a great deal of difference in whether or not they are satisfied with the opportunities for investment in their neighborhood.

When we examine the responses of white owners in each particular neighborhood, we find that only in certain areas do the crime measures further differentiate the population on the extent of investment satisfaction. Looking at the analysis within contexts, we find that victimization and responses to crime affect the investment satisfaction of white owners who live in neighborhoods that have a significant black population. Within Portage Park and East Side, there is no relation between victimization or any measure of reaction to crime and investment satisfaction. But in Beverly, there is a strong relation between satisfaction with safety and investment

satisfaction, <u>but primarily among those who believe the neighborhood is</u>
<u>racially unstable</u>. The modeled data showing the effect of satisfaction with
safety on investment satisfaction for those Beverly residents who do and do
not consider the neighborhood to be racially stable are shown below:

Modeled scores for the effect of satisfaction with safety and
perception of racial stability on investment satisfaction
(Beverly White Owners)

Satisfaction with Safety Scale Score

Stable		2	3	4
	No	1.5	2.4	3.2
	Yes	3.2	3.6	3.9

From these results, we conclude that in neighborhoods having no
black residents, victimization and responses to crime do not feed the fears
of neighborhood change or deterioration that provide part of the justification
for thinking that the neighborhood is unsatisfactory for investment. In
Beverly, even though the white owners live in a predominantly middle class
part of the neighborhood, the perception of unsatisfactory investment oppor-
tunities is linked to dissatisfaction with the level of safety <u>if</u> the home
owner also believes the neighborhood is unstable. When fears for the future
stability of the neighborhood become activated, dissatisfaction with safety
becomes one of the prime motivating forces for disinvestment.

Overall then, neighborhoods that are fearful or risky on each of our
measures are less likely to stimulate enthusiasm for investment. In addition,
there is a multiplier effect: in racially heterogeneous areas, people who
are dissatisfied with safety are less likely to support neighborhood invest-
ment if they also believe the neighborhood is racially unstable.

One's perception of the racial situation in the neighborhood is,
in general, an important factor influencing neighborhood investment
satisfaction. Continuing the within-neighborhood analysis, we find that
the perceived consequences of integration scale described in Chapter 11
strongly predicts investment satisfaction in Beverly, but not in Portage
Park or East Side. This finding is explained by the fact that, unlike Por-
tage Park and East Side, Beverly has a substantial black population (15
percent by our survey) and is becoming still more integrated. Those
residents who see decline as inevitable with black in-migration and who
see that in-migration occurring express dissatisfaction with the invest-
ment potential of the neighborhood. In Portage Park, there are almost no
minorities, and so the high level of threat from racial change and the
medium to high level of investment satisfaction coexist as a state of mind.
In East Side, there is a significant Hispanic population (8 percent by our
survey), but virtually no black residents. The level of satisfaction with
investment among white owners in East Side is strongly affected by the
perception of racial stability, but not by the perceived consequences of
black in-migration.

So far we have concentrated on explaining the effects of racial
perceptions within particular neighborhoods. When we step back and examine
the pooled data for white owners, the perception of racial stability is one
of the primary variables differentiating Chicago housing markets. To fully
explain its impact, however, we must begin with a discussion of how the
pattern of housing and the quality of land use in a neighborhood affect
investment satisfaction.

We have already noted the very strong relationship between satis-

faction with neighborhood quality/appearance and investment satisfaction. In addition to this relationship, there are several specific measures of quality of land use that directly affect investment attitudes. In the previous chapter, we found that the presence of visible signs of deterioration such as garbage or landlord neglect arouses anxiety about the neighborhood to such an extent that there is a lower level of satisfaction with the safety of the area. It is this way with investment satisfaction as well. Controlling for the general level of satisfaction with neighborhood appearance, there is still a significant relationship between problems with visible signs of deterioration and lower investment satisfaction. Controlling for both of these measures, there is yet another very strong relationship between there being a boarded-up building on the block (measured by field observation, not respondent report) and investment satisfaction. Those without a boarded-up building on the block are, controlling for everything else, about 2 points higher on the 8-point investment satisfaction scale than those without this environmental flaw.

It was necessary to discuss the effect of objective environmental problems on investment satisfaction before discussing the effect of the perception of racial instability because the impact of these two variables is in some cases intertwined. The perception of racial instability changes the way that some environmental features are interpreted. One example is the presence of playlots, alleys or other open space on the block. To some respondents, these seem to be environmental amenities, easing the congestion of the block and allowing some free public space in which to move. To others, these spaces seem to be places where litter and garbage can collect and places where people can loiter. Thus, the open spaces are a feature of the environment that can be interpreted in a threatening or in a non-

threatening way. Which interpretation is given to them depends on whether the neighborhood is perceived to be racially stable or unstable. Pooling the responses of all white owners, the open spaces are an amenity (in that they lead to higher investment satisfaction) for those who see the neighborhood as stable and a deterrent to investment for those who see it as changing. The pattern of adjusted scores is shown in the following display:

Modeled scores for the effect of open space and perception of racial stability on investment satisfaction (White Owners)

		Open Space	
		No	Yes
Stable	No	2.3	1.9
	Yes	2.3	2.6

The perception of racial stability also affects the interpretation people give to certain characteristics of the mix of housing stock. Generally speaking, the types of buildings on a block do not make much difference in peoples' views on investment satisfaction. The clues that people seize upon are apparently evenly distributed over blocks that contain large apartment buildings, single family homes and institutional buildings. There is, however, one exception to this--the presence of 2- to 6-unit flats in areas perceived to be racially unstable. As noted in Chapter 11, these flats are often of frame construction and therefore tend to look shabbier than surrounding brick dwellings. In addition, this type of housing is often purchased by extended family groups of incoming minorities--particularly Hispanics in Chicago. Pooling all white owners, those who are not anxious about the future of the neighborhood are unaffected by the presence of 2- to 6-flats. Those who see the neighborhood as unstable are much less satisfied

with investment if their block includes this type of housing. This pattern is shown in the following display:

Modeled scores for the effect of flats on the block and
perception of racial stability on investment satisfaction
(White Owners)

		Presence of Flats	
		No	Yes
Stable	No	2.4	1.8
	Yes	2.4	2.5

Hispanic Owners

There are fewer complicating factors to explain for Hispanics than for whites. We have already noted the very strong relation between satisfaction with neighborhood housing quality/appearance and investment satisfaction for this group. The only other correlate of investment satisfaction among Hispanics is the presence of playlots, alleys or other open space. The same ambiguity is attached to these neighborhood features as among white owners. The difference is that the positive or negative interpretation of the environment among Hispanics does not depend so much on the perception of racial stability as it does on the experience of personal or family victimization. For those who have been victimized, the presence of open spaces decreases the level of satisfaction with investment. For those who have not been victimized, the open spaces are an amenity. The adjusted scale scores are shown in the following display:

Modeled scores for the effect of victimization and open space
on investment satisfaction (Hispanic Owners)

		Open Space	
		No	Yes
Victimization	No	1.0	1.8
	Yes	1.4	-2.2

Black Owners

Black owners, like the Hispanics and the whites, draw satisfaction with investment opportunities from the quality of housing and appearance of the neighborhood. The difference, as we noted earlier, is that compared to whites, a given level of satisfaction with quality and appearance translates into a lower level of enthusiasm for neighborhood investment for blacks and Hispanics. There were few clues in the Hispanic data to help us interpret this finding. There are more clues here and so we will turn our attention to this problem as we analyze the responses of black home owners.

For whites and Hispanics, we found that playgrounds or other open spaces carried an ambivalent quality. Whether they were seen as positive or negative depended on the perception of racial stability for whites and victimization experiences for Hispanics. For blacks, the open spaces are more unambiguously negative. Those home owners with such features on their block are less sanguine about investment. Moreover, those with such features on their block have a harder time translating satisfaction with safety into investment satisfaction. The modeled scale scores for this interaction are shown in the following display:

Modeled scores for the effect of open space and
satisfaction with safety on investment satisfaction
(Black Owners)

	Satisfaction with Safety Scale Score				
	-1	0	1	2	3
Open Space No	.5	.9	1.2	1.6	2.0
Yes	.8	.9	1.1	1.2	1.4

One reason, then, for the lower level of black investment satisfac-

tion compared to whites, controlling for judgments of neighborhood quality, is that certain neighborhood features that are sometimes seen as amenities by whites are not ordinarily interpreted as such in black neighborhoods. Rather, the open spaces are apparently seen as stations for litter and/or rowdy youth and so are discouraging to neighborhood investment.

As for white owners, there is a strong relation between the perceived consequences of integration scale and investment satisfaction among black owners. Black owners who believe that integration does not necessarily mean lower neighborhood social status, higher crime, and lower property values are almost as likely as whites who believe these things to have a very positive attitude toward neighborhood investment. Black owners who have a negative view of the consequences of integration are more negative on investment as well, and the drop in investment satisfaction for each point lower on the perceived consequences scale is greater for blacks than for whites. The modeled data showing this relationship for black owners, white owners, and white owners in Beverly are presented in the following display:

Modeled scores showing the effect of perceived consequences
of integration on investment satisfaction
(Black Owners, White Owners, Beverly White Owners)

Perceived Consequences of Integration Scale Score		Black Owners	White Owners	Beverly White Owners
threatening	-1	.6	2.2	---
	0	.9	2.2	2.9
	1	1.2	2.3	3.1
	2	1.5	2.4	3.3
not threatening	3	1.8	2.5	3.5

The second reason for the lower level of investment satisfaction among black owners is that they have to worry about the consequences of the continued in-migration of their own racial group. We have already discussed how the term "racial stability" takes on a connotation of social class stability when it is used by blacks. A black owner who does not view integration as threatening and who perceives the neighborhood as stable is thus more satisfied with the investment potential of the neighborhood. Even so, blacks who perceive the neighborhood as stable and/or who are satisfied with the quality of the neighborhood are less enthusiastic about investment than are whites who hold these opinions.

Finally, we find that black owners who feel that the neighborhood is a "real home" are more willing to invest in the neighborhood than those who do not, controlling for the quality of the neighborhood, both as reported in the interview and as recorded by our observers.

CONCLUSIONS

By understanding the role that the perception of racial change
plays in augmenting the consequences of the fear of crime, one can begin to
understand findings which are seemingly anomalous or which have not yet
been satisfactorily explained. For example, most studies which have attempted
to relate fear of crime to moving or investment decisions, to say nothing
of attitudes toward the neighborhood, have been unsuccessful. This is surprising
because fear of and concern about crime clearly is an important problem for
many Americans. They worry about it even when rates do not seem very high;
and they take precautions such as improving their locks, choosing safe
houses and arming themselves with dogs and guns. But having taken these
individual actions to protect themselves, they seem unwilling either to
support increased expenditure on policing or to radically alter their lives.

One explanation for the limited impact of crime on individuals'
collective responses is provided by Skogan and Maxfield (1980) who argue
that crime is a rare event. This by itself has never seemed satisfactory
to us because of the high general levels of concern in society as evidenced
in surveys; the debilitating effects of crime on victims as described by
Silberman; and the fact that one third of our households reported a victimization
experience during the year preceding our survey.

If we see fear-induced behaviors as linked to the perception of
racial change or its threat among whites and Hispanics (and to social class
succession among middle class blacks), these other findings start to fall
into place. Succession is seen as bringing with it a host of undesirable
attributes, of which crime is just one, which lead to the undermining of
neighborhood appearance and property values. At the same time, the threat of
succession makes people more sensitive to the crime problem.

Just how this process works can be seen when we introduce our scale
of the perceived consequences of integration. Those respondents who do not
believe that integration brings crime and declining property values are less
likely to see succession as imminent and, consequently, more likely to be
satisfied with the safety of their neighborhood. The obverse is apparent
in our two non-integrated neighborhoods. Many of the residents there do
believe that integration brings crime and declining property values. Yet
they're not worried about crime in their neighborhoods, and they are going
to keep integration from happening.

The belief that integration does not necessarily lead to decline
has many consequences, some of which are easily eroded. For example, the
perception of racial instability is greater among those who believe that
negative consequences do not necessarily follow from integration when they
have been the victim of a crime. The long history of racial fears and the
empirical regularity of succession provide a soil in which the victimization
experience reawakens traditional fears.

One sees this set of issues played out in the community organizations
we have observed as well as in our respondents' assessments of neighborhood
investment potential. For example, there is substantial evidence that community
organizations created solely to fight crime have neither long lives nor much
success recruiting members. Fear of crime per se is not a motivator to
long-term collective action. However, previous findings have suggested that
community organizations which have multiple goals, of which crime control
is one, are more likely to be successful.

Most of the community organizations we have considered arose in
response to impending or actual racial change. Very quickly, these organizations
develop three agenda items. The first is to deal with the real estate market.
In this package are urban renewal; anti-panic peddling; and efforts both to

sell the neighborhood and to maintain a flow of investment funds. Second is to do something about the schools. This is especially true in areas which are traditional nuclear family areas. The third is an anti-crime package which includes building ties with the police department; encouraging the reporting of crimes; establishing youth programs; and promoting citizen crime prevention activities such as safe houses, beat representatives, and whistle stop. Involvement in the real estate and investment markets is high up on every group's list. There is more variation in the other two programs, but, in support of our general findings, it is our impression that anti-crime activities are more pronounced where fear of succession is also more pronounced. Overarching these three agenda items in those neighborhoods that have been able to sustain market demand in the face of black in-migration is the self-conscious promotion of the virtues of integration.

Although our data are not unambiguous in these matters, we believe that the perceived linkage between race and crime can help to explain other findings as well. For example, there is the matter of playlots and other open spaces. They can be either an amenity or a disamenity, depending on a range of circumstances. White owners are less likely to perceive their neighborhood as stable if they live on a block with such open spaces. Those renters in Lincoln Park who are satisfied with the safety of the area are more likely to perceive their neighborhood as stable if they live on blocks with open spaces than those who are less satisfied with safety. Playlots and similar spaces are the areas in which minorities or representatives of the underclass are most visible, and we believe that it is their presence which is influencing perceptions.

Another important finding is the impact that "People who say insulting things or bother people as they walk down the street" has on both perception of risk and satisfaction with safety. This is part of a class of behaviors

which has been defined as "incivility" by the Northwestern Reactions to Crime project. "Incivility" is a useful and evocative concept; however, a concept is not an explanation. In our neighborhoods where the relationship is strongest, those people who stand on the street are most likely to be minority race members. Even in Beverly, where the relationship is not as strong as elsewhere, the main shopping strip is hardly utilized at all by whites, although they live in the houses directly behind the strip in both directions. The point is that the people who stand on the street arouse fear in others because they serve as a reminder that the underclass is encroaching upon the area. Among our black middle class respondents, this group is known as "the element", the "welfare crowd" and the "no-accounts."

The perceptual linkage between crime and racial change is a subtle one and we have tried to trace some of its variations. For example, middle class whites in integrated neighborhoods are less likely to make the connection than are working class whites in either integrated neighborhoods or ones where blacks are on the border. We do not think in this case that crime is a code word for race as has frequently been charged. Fears of crime and fears of racial change work differently in our analyses. Nonetheless, concern about racial change is linked to concern about crime among whites. In a city like Chicago, with a substantial minority population and a sharply drawn history of rapid neighborhood change, the fears of instability are quite pervasive. How fear of crime and its behavioral and attitudinal responses work in suburban areas with growing crime rates, but no minorities nearby is a question for future research.

There are aspects of our findings which should be underscored. First, crime, by itself, is not a deterrent to community economic growth. Lincoln Park and Hyde Park/Kenwood each have demonstrated economic growth with both high crime rates and the perception of relatively high risk among their residents. South Shore may also be able to develop in the face of high crime.

The point is that satisfaction with neighborhood safety is a global concept
which is linked to general satisfaction with community life. One can per-
ceive high crime in one's community and be fearful of it and still discount
it because other aspects of the neighborhood are compensatorily rewarding.
This is one reason why fears of succession relate both to crime and to negative
attitudes toward investment. The assumption is that other aspects of community
life will also be eroded.

Second, despite reams of literature to the contrary, dense internal
community organization is not, by itself, protection for the community
against those consequences of crime which will lead to reduced demand and
subsequent deterioration. Back of the Yards has been densely organized by
the Back of the Yards Council and rich networks of church related activity.
Yet, it deteriorates rapidly. Conversely, Lincoln Park residents are optimistic
about their community and its future in the face of little community-based
social organization and the least neighborly-based social activity of any of
our communities.

Third, racial succession is not inevitable once blacks move into the
community. Lincoln Park, Hyde Park/Kenwood, and Beverly all look as if they
will remain stable communities. However, the residues of racially-based
concerns we have talked about above require massive efforts by concerned
corporate actors with substantial resources and close ties to government. It
is true that there is a substantial number of urban middle class residents
who no longer believe that decline is inevitable with change. But the presence
of blacks coincident with high crime rates stacks the deck against these
residents acting on their beliefs. The forces generating soft markets in
such settings are so widely spread that there is more to do than individuals
can do by themselves. As far back as 1952, Morris Janowitz identified
urban communities as communities of "limited liability". Perhaps communities

of limited commitment might be more appropriate. The costs for a white or
a black middle class home owner taking a chance that all of his neighbors
will act in concert and agree not to move, and that outsiders looking for
housing will not be deterred by the presence of minorities are rather high.
And it does not, under these circumstances, take many home owners or realtors
to begin the actions which lead to soft markets. The difference in the conse-
quences of five houses for ten purchasers and ten houses for five purchasers
is dramatic indeed. In these settings, it is only those corporate actors
with massive sunk investments and the availability of full-time employees
who can take the lead. The University of Chicago in Hyde Park/Kenwood,
DePaul University and several large banks and hospitals in Lincoln Park, and
the Beverly Bank and the developers of Evergreen Plaza in Beverly have all
played substantial roles in the lives of their communities. In Lincoln
Park and Hyde Park/Kenwood, they were able to provide large investments of
their own as well as to generate urban renewal projects. Community organiza-
tions in all three communities promoted high quality city services, discouraged
shoddy real estate practices, and organized both close ties to the police
and community anti-crime programs.

The importance of a full-time paid professional staff in these
organizations can not be overestimated. Because of the limited commitment
that individual residents have (this includes the lack of time), paid staff
in these organizations provide the scaffolding around which individuals
can develop their participation. This is not to minimize the importance of
other groups. Churches, for example, have been instrumental in most of our
communities in generating organizational activity, and Hyde Park/Kenwood and
Beverly have active citizens. But the job of maintaining community morale in
the face of an array of erosive forces is full-time and requires professional
skills. Even full-time organizations without substantial resources and "clout"

are not very effective. Back of the Yards, Austin and South Shore during
its period of decline have had a great deal of organizational activity
without resources. South Shore's efforts at stabilization have begun to show
success only since its bank made the commitment to participate.

Finally, we should refer to the issue of external amenities. The
reader may recall that we suggested that they were important in helping to
determine the level of demand which could be maintained in these neighborhoods.
What we did not realize was the extent to which the peculiar nexus of race
and crime determined the shape of amenities. We have already discussed open
spaces in this regard. Similarly, the housing defined as "old" in Austin is
perceived as charming directly across the street in the suburb of Oak Park.
In addition, some of the frame houses now being rehabilitated in Lincoln
Park look very much like those in Back of the Yards or other sections of
Austin.

What seems to be the case is that once development patterns are set
in motion, many other forces come into play redefining the past and generating
new, increasingly positive meanings for physical features. When deterioration
sets in, the opposite is more nearly true. One dramatic illustration of
this is the simple act of a real estate agent calling a resident to ask if
his house is for sale. In a declining neighborhood, this is defined as
panic peddling or block busting. In a neighborhood which is showing economic
growth, it is development, enterprise and revitalization.

Implications for Policy

Findings such as ours are not always easily convertible into doable
policy recommendations. That a large minority underclass exacerbates fear
of crime among both whites and middle class blacks is not surprising.
Recommendations (which, in fact, we support) to reduce its size by providing
training and jobs for the poor have been made. However, the magnitude of

the problem seems to preclude anything reasonable in scope at the present
time. Similarly, it seems simplistic in 1981 to promote the virtues of racial
integration and to deplore the harmful effects of prejudice. As we have seen,
skillful community organizations do that for their own communities. More,
clearly, should. However, given the nature of housing markets and the pro-
clivities of the real estate industry, the decision to integrate often leads
to disproportionate numbers of minority home seekers in the housing market.
This results in resegregation as whites flee and new white home seekers
choose not to enter these particular markets. The ultimate consequence is
the soft housing markets we discussed in Chapter 1.

Efforts to maintain stable real estate markets in the precarious
urban settings we have described often go unrewarded. Sometimes to the
extent that they succeed, the participants are accused of gentrifying, and,
consequently, unhousing the poor. Even in Austin, which is so deteriorated
that one would think any effort to upgrade housing stock would meet with
approval, a six-square block area which is undergoing gentrification is
being bitterly attacked by the "community organization" in the surrounding
area for that very reason. Austin Village lies at the center of a high
crime area, but because of the housing bargains and the potentially attractive
old late Victorian houses, has been able to generate a market for itself
through creative entrepreneurship.

There are, however, recommendations which can be made within a more
limited framework. The first concerns visible crime prevention activity.
At present, policing efforts are determined primarily by levels of demand
which are usually defined as either calls or crimes. Similarly, efforts
at para-policing, beat representative programs, safe homes, whistle stop
and organized youth activity are called into play only when a community is

threatened by crime (or racial change). Our data suggest that this array of
activity may be most important in low crime areas in which movement of
minorities is likely to occur. For it is precisely at this time that residents'
sense of security must be developed if crime is not to become linked with
racial fears, driving individuals away and softening the housing market.
At the same time, efforts that are racially sensitive, such as "salt and
pepper" police teams, inter-racial sporting activities for youth, and
community-based organizations for adults become of primary importance. This
is not a time to pretend that one is color blind. It is the self-conscious
attempt to link the stable elements of both races which will help to reduce
the fears associated with race and crime.

Second, we have seen the way open spaces work to increase fear in
unstable communities. Efforts to upgrade by the construction of small parks
and the like should not be encouraged unless they bear adequate signs of trouble
prevention such as security guards.

Third, the importance of maintaining city services in marginal areas
cannot be overestimated. As we have seen, the presence of litter, both of
the small and large variety, increases feelings of insecurity and decreases
satisfaction with safety.

In the same vein, we have seen that boarded-up and abandoned houses
also have profoundly negative consequences for how people view their safety.
The department of Housing and Urban Development is particularly deplorable
in this regard. It is interesting to note that the vacant space which results
from housing being torn down also has negative consequences for the block on
which it is located. Efforts to get such houses back into the market rather
that demolish them appear to be called for.

The fact that crime by itself is not enough to deter economic develop-
ment nor enough to motivate people for continuous collective effort suggests
that community crime prevention activities should be connected to organizations
which exist for a broad range of community protection purposes. However,
our observations suggest that it is unreasonable to expect effective community
organizations to be staffed exclusively with volunteers, or even to be paid
for by the community's residents. As we have seen, successful community
organizations have levels of funding which are beyond what local citizens
can or will provide. One response to this discovery is to suggest that citi-
zens get what they deserve. However, we have seen that where a well-paid
staff is at the core of organizational activity, substantial citizen parti-
cipation is possible.

Part of the responsibility of that core organization is to demonstrate
that their efforts have a chance to bear fruit and that citizens who parti-
cipate will not be left with little to show for their efforts. Communities
face the classical problem of aggregating their activities in mutually
productive ways. It is too easy for just a few to undermine the efforts
of the many. The ongoing efforts of strong staffing may help to mitigate the
fears of those who are certain they have been abandoned.

In short, one is involved in a program of building community con-
fidence. And communities find it difficult to do this by themselves. Real
evidence that their public officials are involved in the process with them—
this includes the police and other elements of the criminal justice system—
helps in this process. High crime rates can easily be connected in people's
minds with the broader sources of neighborhood deterioration; when this happens,
it is not easy to reverse the pattern without massive resources.

Future Research Activity

Having demonstrated that crime by itself seems not to be nearly
as important in destroying neighborhood confidence as the nexus between
crime, race, and class in the city, we are faced with the question about how
all this works in a range of suburban settings. The data all point to the
fact that crime in the suburbs is a problem of increasing importance. This
is not so surprising in those suburbs which are older and adjacent to the
city. There are already data available to illustrate both that their crime
rates are going up and that they are also undergoing deterioration in patterns
similar to those we have described. The question is, what impact does crime
have on individuals in those suburbs which are in varying degrees homogeneous?
How in those settings do citizens perceive and respond to increased crime rates?
What impact does this response have on neighborhood commitment and investment
activity? Does fear of minorities enter into this picture at all? And
what does it do to housing markets? These are important questions as crime
becomes an ever more pervasive problem in society. Increasingly, it is not
enough to think of cities alone as sources of problems of crime. How crime
impacts on suburban neighborhoods and what residents will do about it is
an important question for the near future.

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APPENDIX A

Case No. ☐-☐☐☐☐

CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOODS

SCREENER

(CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Male Head 1

Female Head 2

One Head HH Only .. 3

Case completed by:

_____ ☐☐☐☐ ☐

Interviewer Name   Interviewer ID#

RECORD OF CALLS

Day of Week	Month	Date	Time	Dis-position	Comments	Interviewer Initial	ID#
Mo 1 Tu 2 Fr 5 We 3 Sa 6 Th 4 Su 7	Feb 1 March 2 April 3	☐☐	☐☐☐☐ AM 1 PM 2	☐☐			☐☐
Mo 1 Tu 2 Fr 5 We 3 Sa 6 Th 4 Su 7	Feb 1 March 2 April 3	☐☐	☐☐☐☐ AM 1 PM 2	☐☐			☐☐
Mo 1 Tu 2 Fr 5 We 3 Sa 6 Th 4 Su 7	Feb 1 March 2 April 3	☐☐	☐☐☐☐ AM 1 PM 2	☐☐			☐☐
Mo 1 Tu 2 Fr 5 We 3 Sa 6 Th 4 Su 7	Feb 1 March 2 April 3	☐☐	☐☐☐☐ AM 1 PM 2	☐☐			☐☐
Mo 1 Tu 2 Fr 5 We 3 Sa 6 Th 4 Su 7	Feb 1 March 2 April 3	☐☐	☐☐☐☐ AM 1 PM 2	☐☐			☐☐
Mo 1 Tu 2 Fr 5 We 3 Sa 6 Th 4 Su 7	Feb 1 March 2 April 3	☐☐	☐☐☐☐ AM 1 PM 2	☐☐			☐☐
Mo 1 Tu 2 Fr 5 We 3 Sa 6 Th 4 Su 7	Feb 1 March 2 April 3	☐☐	☐☐☐☐ AM 1 PM 2	☐☐			☐☐
Mo 1 Tu 2 Fr 5 We 3 Sa 6 Th 4 Su 7	Feb 1 March 2 April 3	☐☐	☐☐☐☐ AM 1 PM 2	☐☐			☐☐
Tu 2 Fr 5 We 3 Sa 6 Th 4 Su 7	Feb 1 March 2 April 3	☐☐	☐☐☐☐ AM 1 PM 2	☐☐			☐☐

(SUPERVISOR USE ONLY) ___ Conversion Disposition

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

1. Hello, I'm (YOUR NAME) from the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. We are doing a scientific study of how people feel about the neighborhood they live in. Have I reached (VERIFY NUMBER DIALED)?

Yes .... (GO TO 2) 1

No ... (THANK INF & REDIAL) .. 2

2. Is this a household or business number?

Household ... (GO TO 3) 1

Business (THANK INF & TERMINATE) 2

Other ..(SPECIFY & TERMINATE) 3

_____

3. We would like to assure you that any information or opinions that you give us about your neighborhood will be strictly confidential; however, we would like to talk only with people who live in certain areas.

IF HOUSEHOLD ADDRESS IS KNOWN, ASK A:

A. Is your residence in the (NUMBER) block of (NAME OF STREET)?

Yes .... (GO TO 4) 1

No ...... (ASK B) 2

IF HOUSEHOLD ADDRESS IS NOT KNOWN, ASK B:

B. Please tell me on which street you live.   STREET _____

On which block is that?   NUMBER _____

And is that north, south, east or west?   CIRCLE ONE: N S E W

I have to check my map to see if your residence is in the area in which we are conducting our study. I'll just be a moment.

Thank you for waiting.

IF RESIDENCE IS WITHIN NEIGHBORHOOD, GO TO 4.

IF RESIDENCE IS ON BOUNDARY STREET:

Your residence falls on the boundary of one of the areas we are interested in. Does your house number end in an odd number or an even number?

Within area ... (GO TO 4) 1

Outside area . (READ BELOW) ... 2

IF RESIDENCE IS OUTSIDE OF NEIGHBORHOOD:

I'm sorry. Your residence falls outside the boundaries of the areas we are studying. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. Goodbye.
ENTER DISPOSITION ON CALL RECORD.

4. I would like to speak with the (SELECTED R on label) head of your household.
CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX.

     IF INFORMANT IS SELECTED HEAD, OR ONLY HEAD GO TO QUESTIONNAIRE. ... ☐

B. IF SELECTED HEAD OR ONLY HEAD COMES TO PHONE, GO TO Q. 5. .... ☐

C. IF SELECTED HEAD REFUSES/UNAVAILABLE OR IS NOT
AT HOME, ASK: May I speak with the (male head/female head)
of this household?

    IF INFORMANT IS OTHER HEAD, GO TO QUESTIONNAIRE .... ☐

    IF OTHER HEAD COMES TO PHONE, GO TO Q. 5 .... ☐

    IF NEITHER SELECTED HEAD NOR OTHER HEAD IS HOME, ASK:
When would be the best time for me to call (MALE/FEMALE HEAD)?
May I please have his/her name?

    ENTER TIME TO CALL BACK, NAME AND OTHER INFORMATION BELOW AND IN
"COMMENTS" COLUMN OF CALL RECORD. .... ☐

    FOR CALLBACK/APPOINTMENT enter . . .

Day _____   Date _____   Time _____ AM / PM

    NAME: _____

THANK INFORMANT AND SAY YOU WILL CALL BACK.

D. IF THERE IS NO HEAD OR MORE THAN TWO HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, ASK:
May I speak to the person in whose name this telephone is listed
with the phone company?

    IF INFORMANT, GO TO QUESTIONNAIRE. .... ☐

    IF SOMEONE ELSE COMES TO PHONE, GO TO Q. 5. .... ☐

    IF PERSON IN WHOSE NAME TELEPHONE IS LISTED IS NOT HOME,
INTERVIEW ANY ADULT IN HOUSEHOLD WHO IS 18 YEARS OLD OR OLDER.

5. Hello, I'm (YOUR NAME) from the National Opinion Research Center at the University
of Chicago. We are doing a scientific study of how people feel about the neighbor-
hood they live in. GO TO QUESTIONNAIRE.

---

1. Why were you unable to complete the
interview? (CODE ONE)

    Refusal 1

    Breakoff 2

2. Who refused?

    Male head 1

    Female head 2

    Other (SPECIFY)

    _____ 3

    Don't know identity 4

3. Which document was refused?

    Screener 1

    Questionnaire 2

4. At what point did refusal/breakoff
occur?

    Introduction 1

    During Screener 2
    (SPECIFY Q. NUMBER

    _____)

    During Questionnaire 3
    (SPECIFY Q. NUMBER

    _____)

5. What reasons were given for
refusal/breakoff? (RECORD
VERBATIM, THEN CIRCLE ALL THAT
APPLY.)

    Too busy 1

    Doesn't like
    surveys 2

    Negative reaction
    to Q. # ___... 3

    Not interested .. 4

    Concerned about
    confidentiality 5

    No reason given,
    hung up 6

    Other 7

6. How did you answer the reasons given for refusal/breakoff?

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

7. Was conversion attempt made?   Yes ☐   No ☐

    IF YES: What is final disposition code?   ☐☐

BEGIN DECK 01

Survey 5098
February 1979

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOOD SURVEY

| 5 | BEVERLY |

Case Number: | 5 | - | | | | | 01-05/

Sequence No.: | | | 5 | - | | | - | | | | 07-14/

IF MORE THAN ONE TELEPHONE NUMBER (PAGE 31)   CHECK HERE: [ ]

* *

OFFICE USE ONLY

ONE HEAD HH:

    Male 1   15/

    Female 2

TWO HEADED HH:

    Selected Male 3

    Selected Female 4

    Other Male 5

    Other Female 6

MULTI-HEADED HH:

    Male 7

    Female 8

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PERSONS NOT FAMILIAR WITH CORRECT NEIGHBORHOOD NAME (Q. 1A)

1B. IF NAME ON LABEL IS: RESPONDENT SAYS: READ:

1 Portage Park   Jefferson Park
                     Northwest Side → (JEFFERSON PARK, etc.) is a very large area in Chicago, but—

                     Anything else
                     or no name → We're (just) studying the area from Narragansett on the west to Cicero on the east, and from Montrose on the north to Belmont on the south. Some people have called this Portage Park, and we'd like to use this name occasionally during the interview.

2 Lincoln Park   Park West
                     Sheffield
                     Wrightwood
                     Old Town → (PARK WEST, etc.) is just a part of the area we're interested in.

                     Anything else
                     or no name → We're studying the area from Diversey Parkway on the north, to North Avenue on the south, and from Ashland Avenue to the lake. Some people have called this Lincoln Park, and we'd like to use this name occasionally during the interview.

3 Austin   Anything
                     or no name → We're studying the area on the far west side of Chicago which some people have called Austin. We'd like to use this name occasionally during the interview.

4 Back of the Yards Anything
                     or no name → We're studying the area from 47th Street to Garfield Blvd., and from Western Avenue on the west to Halsted on the east. Some people have called this Back of the Yards, and we'd like to use this name occasionally during the interview.

5 Beverly   Anything or
                     no name → We're studying the area from 87th Street to 107th Street west of the railroad tracks. Some people have called this Beverly, and we'd like to use this name occasionally during the interview.

6 Hyde Park-Kenwood Kenwood → Kenwood is just part of the area we're interested in.—

                     Anything else
                     or no name → We're studying the area from 47th Street to 60th Street, and from Cottage Grove to the lake. Some people have called this Hyde Park-Kenwood, and we'd like to use this name occasionally during the interview.

7 South Shore   Anything or
                     no name → We're studying the area from 67th Street to 83rd Street, and from Stony Island to the lake. Some people have called this South Shore, and we'd like to use this name occasionally during the interview.

8 East Side   Anything or
                     no name → We're studying the area south and east of the Calumet River. Some people have called this East Side, and we'd like to use this name occasionally during the interview.

1. What is the name of your neighborhood? (PROBE: Some neighborhoods in Chicago have names such as Rogers Park or Englewood; what is the name of your neighborhood?)

   (RECORD NAME VERBATIM; IF NAME MATCHES NAME ON COVER OF QUESTIONNAIRE, GO TO Q. 2)

                                                                    16-17/

   A. Some people have called your neighborhood (NAME ON COVER). Have you ever heard this name used to describe your neighborhood?

                    Yes .... (GO TO Q. 2) 1   18/

                    No .... (ASK B, p. 2) 2

2. In what year did you move into (NEIGHBORHOOD ON COVER)?

           RECORD YEAR: 19 [   ] (IF R MOVED IN BEFORE 1974,
                                    SKIP TO Q. 4)   19-20/

           Lived here all my life (SKIP TO Q. 4) .. 85

3. I'm going to read a list of things some people think about when choosing a neighborhood to live in. Think back to when you first moved into (NAME ON COVER). How important was each of these in your decision to move into the neighborhood. First, the quality of public schools—was that very important, somewhat important, or not important? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN EACH LINE.

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important	Don't know	
A. The quality of public schools	1	2	3	8	21/
B. The general appearance of the streets, grounds, and buildings in the area	1	2	3	8	22/
C. The reputation of the neighborhood	1	2	3	8	23/
D. The availability of convenient shopping	1	2	3	8	24/
E. The safety of the neighborhood	1	2	3	8	25/
F. The convenience of the neighborhood to place of employment	1	2	3	8	26/
G. The availability of public transportation	1	2	3	8	27/
H. The likelihood that property values will go up	1	2	3	8	28/
I. Having neighbors mostly of your own race	1	2	3	8	29/
J. Good quality housing for the money	1	2	3	8	30/

4. We'd like to know how satisfied you are right now with various things in your neighborhood. First, the quality of public schools. Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied? CIRCLE ONE CODE ON EACH LINE.

	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know	
A. The quality of public schools	1	2	3	4	8	31/
B. The general appearance of the streets, grounds, and buildings in the area	1	2	3	4	8	32/
C. The reputation of your neighborhood	1	2	3	4	8	33/
D. The availability of convenient shopping	1	2	3	4	8	34/
E. The way property values are going	1	2	3	4	8	35/
F. The safety of the neighborhood	1	2	3	4	8	36/
G. The convenience of the neighborhood to place of employment	1	2	3	4	8	37/
H. The availability of public transportation	1	2	3	4	8	38/
I. The racial make-up of the neighborhood	1	2	3	4	8	39/
J. The quality of housing for the money	1	2	3	4	8	40/

5. On the whole, are you very satisfied with your neighborhood, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

                    Very satisfied 1   41/

                    Somewhat satisfied 2

                    Somewhat dissatisfied . 3

                    Very dissatisfied 4

                    Don't know 8

6. How likely is it that you might move out of (NEIGHBORHOOD ON COVER) within the next year? Will you definitely move, probably move, is there a fifty-fifty chance of moving, will you probably not move, or will you definitely not move?

Definitely move 1   42/

Probably move 2

Fifty-fifty chance 3

Probably not move 4

Definitely not move 5

7. Overall, in the past two years, would you say your neighborhood has become a better place to live, has gotten worse, or is it about the same as it used to be?

Better 1   43/

Worse 2

About the same 3

Don't know 8

8. All things considered, what do you think the neighborhood will be like two years from now? Will it be a better place to live, will it have gotten worse, or will it be about the same as it is now?

Better 1   44/

Worse 2

About the same 3

Don't know 8

9. Some people feel their neighborhood is a real home to them, a place where they have roots. Other people think of their neighborhood as just a place where they happen to be living. Which one of those comes closest to the way you consider your neighborhood?

Real home 1   45/

Just place to live 2

10. Suppose a family had saved its money and was thinking about buying a house in your neighborhood. In your opinion, would they be making a good financial investment, or would they be better off investing their money in another neighborhood?

Good investment 1   46/

Better off in another neighborhood 2

Don't know 8

11. I'm going to read a list of things that are sometimes problems in neighborhoods. Please tell me if they are a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem at all to you in your neighborhood.

	Big problem (ASK A)	Somewhat problem	Not a problem	
a) Noisy neighbors; people who play loud music, have late parties, or have noisy quarrels	1	2	3	47/
b) Dogs barking loudly or relieving themselves near your home	1	2	3	57/
c) People not disposing of garbage properly or leaving litter around the area	1	2	3	67/
d) Poor maintenance of property and lawns	1	2	3	09/
e) People who say insulting things or bother people as they walk down the street	1	2	3	19/
f) Landlords who don't care about what happens to the neighborhood	1	2	3	29/
g) Purse snatching and other street crimes	1	2	3	38/
h) Presence of drugs and drug users	1	2	3	47/
i) Abandoned houses or other empty buildings	1	2	3	56/
j) Vacant lots filled with trash and junk	1	2	3	65/

FOR EACH BIG PROBLEM MENTIONED IN Q. 11, ASK:

A. Now I'm going to read you a list of what people might do when faced with such problems. Some people take no action at all. Others may talk directly to the neighbor involved, or get together with other neighbors to try to solve the problem, or call the police, or call their alderman or precinct captain, or call a city agency, or do something else. First (READ FIRST BIG PROBLEM). Have you ever taken any action to try to solve the problem? IF YES, READ ACROSS OTHER HEADINGS IN ROW. CIRCLE ONE CODE FOR EACH. IF NO, GO ON TO NEXT BIG PROBLEM.

(1) Taken any action to try to solve this problem?	(2) Talked directly with neighbor involved	(3) Gotten together with other neighbors to try to solve the problem	(4) Called the police	(5) Called your alderman or precinct captain	(6) Called a city agency	(7) Taken some other action*
Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No
1 2 48/	1 2 49/	1 2 50/	1 2 51/	1 2 52/	1 2 53/	1 2 54/
	*Other (SPECIFY) _____					55-56/
1 2 58/	1 2 59/	1 2 60/	1 2 61/	1 2 62/	1 2 63/	1 2 64/
	*Other (SPECIFY) _____					65-66/
1 2 68/	1 2 69/	1 2 70/	1 2 71/	1 2 72/	1 2 73/	1 2 74/ BEGIN DECK 02 07-08/
	*Other (SPECIFY) _____					
1 2 10/	1 2 11/	1 2 12/	1 2 13/	1 2 14/	1 2 15/	1 2 16/
	*Other (SPECIFY) _____					17-18/
1 2 20/	1 2 21/	1 2 22/	1 2 23/	1 2 24/	1 2 25/	1 2 26/
	*Other (SPECIFY) _____					27-28/
1 2 30/	NOT APPLICABLE	1 2 31/	1 2 32/	1 2 33/	1 2 34/	1 2 35/
	*Other (SPECIFY) _____					36-37/
1 2 39/	NOT APPLICABLE	1 2 40/	1 2 41/	1 2 42/	1 2 43/	1 2 44/
	*Other (SPECIFY) _____					45-46/
1 2 48/	NOT APPLICABLE	1 2 49/	1 2 50/	1 2 51/	1 2 52/	1 2 53/
	*Other (SPECIFY) _____					54-55/
1 2 57/	NOT APPLICABLE	1 2 58/	1 2 59/	1 2 60/	1 2 61/	1 2 62/
	*Other (SPECIFY) _____					63-64/
1 2 66/	NOT APPLICABLE	1 2 67/	1 2 68/	1 2 69/	1 2 70/	1 2 71/
	*Other (SPECIFY) _____					72-73/

12. Please tell me if the following statements about your immediate neighbors are true or false.

	True	False	Don't know	
A. If I were sick, I could count on my neighbors to shop for me at the super-market, go to the drugstore, and so on.	1	2	8	07/
B. When I'm away from home, I can count on some of my neighbors to keep their eyes open for possible trouble.	1	2	8	08/
C. If I had to borrow about $25 for an emergency, I could turn to one of my neighbors.	1	2	8	09/
D. It's pretty easy to tell a stranger from someone who lives in my immediate neighborhood.	1	2	8	10/

13. Do you ever read a local neighborhood newspaper to learn what's happening in your neighborhood?

Yes ...(ASK A) .. 1   11/

No 2

A. IF YES: About how often? Would you say nearly every week, once every few weeks, or less often than that?

Nearly every week 1   12/

Every few weeks 2

Less often 3

14. Do any of your relatives live in (NEIGHBORHOOD ON COVER)?

Yes 1   13/

No 2

Don't have any relatives 3

15. Do any of your good friends live in (NEIGHBORHOOD ON COVER)?

Yes 1   14/

No 2

Don't have any good friends 3

16. Please tell me how often you usually do the following things. First, spend a social evening with relatives—do you do this once a week or more, about once a month, less than once a month, or never? REPEAT ANSWER CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY AND CIRCLE ONE CODE ON EACH LINE.

	Once a week or more	About once a month	Less than once a month	Never	Not applicable	
A. Spend a social evening with relatives	1	2	3	4	5	15/
B. Spend a social evening with one of your neighbors	1	2	3	4	5	16/
C. Spend an evening with friends who live outside of (NEIGHBORHOOD)	1	2	3	4	5	17/
D. Spend some time with the people you work with away from the job	1	2	3	4	5	18/
E. Chat with your neighbors when you run into them on the street	1	2	3	4	5	19/

17. I'd like you to tell me where you do the following things. First, grocery shopping. Do you do this usually in (NEIGHBORHOOD), or usually outside the area?

	Usually in neighborhood	Usually outside	Not applicable	
A. Grocery shopping	1	2	3	20/
B. Go to restaurants	1	2	3	21/
C. Go to religious services	1	2	3	22/
D. Do your banking	1	2	3	23/
E. Go to a doctor or other medical facility	1	2	3	24/
F. Buy clothing	1	2	3	25/
G. Take your car for repairs	1	2	3	26/

18. We're interested in the groups and organizations that individuals belong to. Please tell me whether or not you are a member of . . . ASK EACH ITEM. FOR EACH "YES" IN A, ASK B.: Does it ever meet in your neighborhood?

	A. Belong?		IF YES IN A, ASK: B. Does it ever meet in your neighborhood?		
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
1) A PTA or local school council.	1	2 27/	1	2	28/
2) Any group connected with your religion or church.	1	2 29/	1	2	30/
3) Any group of renters or homeowners.	1	2 31/	1	2	32/
4) Any other group concerned with quality of community life.	1	2 33/	1	2	34/
5) Any recreational group or club, such as a bowling league, the YMCA, or something like that.	1	2 35/	1	2	36/
6) Any ethnic or nationality group.	1	2 37/	1	2	38/
7) Any other kind of group.	1	2 39/	1	2	40/

19. Do you live in a house or an apartment?

House ...... (ASK A)	1	41/
Apartment ... (ASK B)	2	
Other (SPECIFY AND ASK B)		
_____	3	

A. **IF HOUSE:** (HOUSE INCLUDES DETACHED SINGLE FAMILY HOUSE, ROW HOUSE, TOWN HOUSE, DUPLEX)

Are you an owner or a renter?

Owner ... (GO TO Q. 20) ...	1	42/
Renter .. (GO TO Q. 20) ...	2	

B. **IF APARTMENT OR OTHER:**

(1) Does your building have seven or more units?

Yes	1	43/
No	2	

(2) Are you an owner or a renter?

Owner ... (ASK (a))	1	44/
Renter .. (ASK (b))	2	

(a) **FOR OWNERS IN APARTMENT BUILDINGS:**

Is it a condominium, or is it a cooperative, or do you own the entire building?

Condominium	1	45/
Cooperative	2	
Entire building	3	

(b) **FOR HYDE PARK-KENWOOD RENTERS ONLY:** OTHERWISE GO TO Q. 20.

Do you live in any kind of university housing, either staff or student subsidized housing?

Yes	1	46/
No	2	
Uncertain ... (ASK (c)) ...	8	

(c) **IF UNCERTAIN:** Describe name of building or type of arrangements.

ASK EVERYONE:

20. In what year did you move into this (house/apartment)?

RECORD YEAR: 19 [ ][ ]   47-48/

Lived here all my life ... 85

21. What is the total number of people who live in your household? Please count any boarders, any college students who live there at least part of the year, and anyone else who normally lives there but is away now. (Make sure you count yourself.)

RECORD NUMBER: [ ][ ]   49-50/

NOTE: IF R OWNS SINGLE FAMILY HOME, ASK Q. 22.

IF R OWNS CONDOMINIUM, COOPERATIVE, OR APARTMENT BUILDING, GO TO Q. 23.

IF R RENTS APARTMENT, GO TO Q. 24.

IF R RENTS SINGLE FAMILY HOME, GO TO Q. 27.

IF R OWNS SINGLE FAMILY HOME:

22. In the past two years or so, have you made any improvements or any necessary repairs on your home? That is, such things as painting, a new roof, new storm windows, or adding a porch or new room.

Yes .... (ASK A)	1	51/
No	2	

A. **IF YES:** During the past two years, have you spent less than $1,000, between $1,000 and $2,000, or more than $2,000 on these improvements or repairs?

Less than $1,000	1	52/
Between $1,000 and $2,000 ..	2	
More than $2,000	3	

NOW SKIP TO Q. 27

IF R OWNS CONDOMINIUM, COOPERATIVE, OR APARTMENT BUILDING:

23. In the past two years or so, have you made any improvements or any necessary repairs on your home? That is, such things as painting, new storm windows, or modernizing your kitchen?

Yes .... (ASK A)	1	53/
No	2	

A. **IF YES:** During the past two years, have you spent less than $500, between $500 and $1,000, or more than $1,000 on these improvements or repairs?

Less than $500	1	54/
Between $500 and $1,000	2	
More than $1,000	3	

NOW SKIP TO Q. 27

IF R RENTS APARTMENT:

24. As far as you know, in the past two years or so, has your landlord made any improvements in your apartment or building? That is, such things as modernizing your kitchen or bathroom, fixing up the public spaces, or improving security?

                              Yes 1   55/

                              No 2

---

25. In the past two years or so, have you made any improvements in your apartment? That is, such things as refinishing floors or building a closet?

                              Yes 1   56/

                              No 2

---

26. Please tell me whether the following things are a big problem in your building, somewhat of a problem, or not at all a problem.

	Big problem	Somewhat problem	Not a problem	
A. The amount of heat you get in the winter	1	2	3	57/
B. Roaches, mice, or rats	1	2	3	58/
C. Bad plumbing or not enough hot water	1	2	3	59/
D. Peeling paint or loose plaster	1	2	3	60/
E. Broken windows	1	2	3	61/
F. Building security	1	2	3	62/

ASK EVERYONE:

27. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about crime. How much crime would you say there is in your own immediate neighborhood--a lot, some, or only a little?

                              A lot ..... (ASK A) 1   63/

                              Some .... (GO TO Q. 28) ... 2

                              Only a little(ASK A) 3

          (IF VOLUNTEERED) ....   None ...... (ASK A) 4

                              Don't know (GO TO Q. 28) ... 8

     A. IF A LOT, ONLY A LITTLE, OR NONE: What do you think accounts for the fact that there is (AMOUNT OF CRIME) in your neighborhood?

                                                                   64-65/

                                                                   66-67/

                                                                   68-69/

---

28. Would you say that the likelihood you will be a victim of a crime in your neighborhood during the coming year is high, moderate, or low?

                              High 1   70/

                              Moderate 2

                              Low 3

                              Don't know 8

---

29. How much information do you get about crime in your neighborhood from each of the following sources? First, do you get a great deal of information, some information, or no information at all about crime in your neighborhood from local neighborhood newspapers? CIRCLE ONE CODE ON EACH LINE.

	Great deal	Some	None	
A. Local community newspapers	1	2	3	71/
B. Conversations with neighbors	1	2	3	72/
C. Just keeping your eyes and ears open	1	2	3	73/
D. City newspapers, radio or television	1	2	3	74/

30. Do you know of any special efforts or programs going on in your neighborhood to prevent or reduce crime?

                    Yes ... (ASK A AND B) 1   07/

                    No 2

IF YES:
A. What are they?

                                                           08-09/
                                                           10-11/
                                                           12-13/

B. Do you actively participate in any of these programs?

                    Yes 1   14/

                    No 2

31. In order to avoid crime, have you ever . . .

	Yes	No	
A. avoided using public transportation	1	2	15/
B. engraved identification on valuables	1	2	16/
C. arranged to go out with someone so you wouldn't have to be alone when going somewhere in the neighborhood	1	2	17/
D. installed a burglar alarm in your home	1	2	18/
E. taken other security measures such as using timers on your lights, putting bars on windows, or adding new locks	1	2	19/
F. selected a residence because of its particular safety features	1	2	20/
G. turned down a job because of its unsafe location	1	2	21/
H. kept a watchdog	1	2	22/
I. kept a gun or other weapon at home	1	2	23/

32. Is there any area right around here--that is, within a mile--where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?

                    Yes 1   24/

                    No 2

33. I'm going to read some statements people have made about crime. For each one please tell me if it's mostly true in your case or mostly false.

	Mostly true	Mostly false	
A. I'm often a little worried that I will be the victim of a crime in my neighborhood.	1	2	25/
B. I would probably not be afraid if a stranger stopped me at night in my neighborhood to ask for directions.	1	2	26/
C. I'm not as afraid for my own safety as I am for the people close to me	1	2	27/
D. When I have to be away from home for a long time, I worry that someone might try to break in.	1	2	28/
E. When I hear footsteps behind me at night in my neighborhood, it makes me feel uneasy.	1	2	29/

34. Now I'd like to ask you about some things that might have happened to you or to members of your household since the beginning of 1978. I'd like you to think back to January 1978, about 14 months ago.

Since January 1978, did anyone break into your (house/apartment) or steal anything from inside your (house/apartment)? Even someone you knew?

Yes .... (ASK A AND B)	1	30/
No	2	

IF YES:
A. Did that happen once or more than once?

Once	1	31/
More than once	2	

B. Did you know the person who broke into your (house/apartment)?

Yes	1	32/
No	2	
Both	3	
Don't know	8	

35. Since January of 1978, did anyone take money or other belongings from you or from other members of your household by force? For example, did someone use a gun or knife, or in any other way force one of you to give them something that did not belong to them? Even someone you knew?

Yes ... (ASK A, B, C, D) ..	1	33/
No	2	

IF YES:
A. Did that happen to you or to someone else in your household?

Respondent	1	34/
Someone else	2	
Both	3	

B. Did that happen once or more than once?

Once	1	35/
More than once	2	

C. Did that happen in (NEIGHBORHOOD) or elsewhere?

In neighborhood	1	36/
Elsewhere	2	
Both	3	
Don't know	8	

D. Did you/they know the person who robbed you/them?

Yes	1	37/
No	2	
Both	3	
Don't know	8	

36. Other than what has been mentioned, has anyone stolen anything else from you or someone in your household during the time since January, 1978? Perhaps a bicycle, clothing, tools, wallet, money, or anything else?

Yes .. (ASK A, B, C, D) ...	1	38/
No	2	

IF YES:
A. Did that happen to you or to someone else in your household?

Respondent	1	39/
Someone else	2	
Both	3	

B. Did that happen once or more than once?

Once	1	40/
More than once	2	

C. Did that happen in (NEIGHBORHOOD) or elsewhere?

In neighborhood	1	41/
Elsewhere	2	
Both	3	
Don't know	8	

D. Did you/they know the person who stole these things?

Yes	1	42/
No	2	
Both	3	
Don't know	8	

37. Since January, 1978, has anyone damaged or defaced the building you live in, for example, by writing on the walls, breaking windows, setting fires, or anything like that?

Yes .... (ASK A AND B)	1	43/
No	2	

IF YES:
A. Did that happen once or more than once?

Once	1	44/
More than once	2	

B. Did you know the person who damaged your building?

Yes	1	45/
No	2	
Both	3	
Don't know	8	

38. Since January of 1978, was anyone in your household the victim of a rape or sexual assault, even by someone she knew?

Yes ...(ASK A, B, C, D) ... 1   46/

No 2

IF YES:

A. ASK FEMALE ONLY: MALE GO TO B.

Were you the victim, or was it another member of your household?

Respondent 1   47/

Someone else 2

Both 3

B. Sometimes people are the victim of the same crime more than once during a year. Did that happen once or more than once?

Once 1   48/

More than once 2

C. Did that happen in (NEIGHBORHOOD) or elsewhere?

In neighborhood 1   49/

Elsewhere 2

Both 3

Don't know 8

D. Was the attacker someone you/she knew?

Yes 1   50/

No 2

Both 3

Don't know 8

ASK EVERYONE:

39. Other than what you have already mentioned, since January, 1978, did anyone, including someone you knew, use violence against you or members of your household in an argument or quarrel, or in any other way attack or assault one of you?

Yes .. (ASK A, B, C, D) ... 1   51/

No 2

IF YES:

A. Did that happen to you or to someone else in your household?

Respondent 1   52/

Someone else 2

Both 3

B. Did that happen once or more than once?

Once 1   53/

More than once 2

C. Did that happen in (NEIGHBORHOOD) or elsewhere?

In neighborhood 1   54/

Elsewhere 2

Both 3

Don't know 8

D. Was the attacker someone you/they knew?

Yes 1   55/

No 2

Both 3

Don't know 8

IF VOLUNTEERED THAT VICTIM WAS KILLED, CHECK HERE ..... ☐   56/

40. Now I have just a few questions about yourself. First, in what year were you born?

| | | | | | 57-58/

41. What is your religion—is it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, some other religion, or no religion?

Protestant 01   59-60/

Catholic 02

Jewish 03

Muslim 04

None 05

Other (SPECIFY RELIGION AND/OR
       CHURCH AND DENOMINATION)

_____ 06

42. For statistical purposes, we would like to know what racial group you belong to. Are you black, white, hispanic, or something else?

Black .... 1·   61/

White .... (ASK A) 2

Hispanic 3

Other (SPECIFY) _____

_____ 4

Refused 7

Don't know 8

A. IF WHITE:

What is your ethnic background? For example, is it Irish, Italian, Polish, or what?

Polish 01   62-63/

Italian 02

Irish 03

German 04

Other or more than one

(RECORD _____) 05

None 06

43. What is the highest regular school certificate, diploma, or degree that you have gotten?

None ever 01   64-65/

8th grade; Jr. high 02

High school diploma; GED 03

A.A.; Junior College 04

B. A. or B. S. 05

Masters 06

Ph.D. 07

Degree in law or medicine 08

Other (SPECIFY) _____

_____ 09

44. Last week were you working full time, part time, keeping house, or what? CIRCLE ONE CODE ONLY. IF MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE, GIVE PREFERENCE TO SMALLEST CODE NUMBER THAT APPLIES AND RECORD OTHER RESPONSES VERBATIM.

Working full time (35 hours or more) .. 01   66-67/

Working part time (1-34 hours) 02

With a job, but not at work because of
    illness, vacation, strike .. (ASK A) . 03

Unemployed, laid off, looking
    for work .... (ASK A) . 04

Retired 05

In school only .... (SKIP TO Q. 46) 06

Keeping house only (SKIP TO Q. 46) 07

Other (SPECIFY)

_____ 08

A. IF NOT WORKING AT PRESENT:

When you do work, is that usually full time or part time?

Full time 1   68/

Part time 2

Varies 3

45. A. What kind of work do you (did you normally) do? That is, what is (was) your job called? IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, ASK ABOUT __MAIN JOB__ HERE.

   OCCUPATION: _____   69-73/

   __IF NECESSARY, ASK__: What are (were) some of your main duties? What do (did) you actually do in that job?

   B. Where is your (main) place of work? Is it in (NEIGHBORHOOD), downtown Chicago, elsewhere in Chicago, in the suburbs, or where?

   (NEIGHBORHOOD) 1   74/

   Downtown Chicago 2

   Elsewhere in Chicago 3

   Suburbs 4

   Other (SPECIFY) _____

   _____ 5

                                      BEGIN DECK 05

   ┌─────────────────┐
   │ ASK EVERYONE   │
   └─────────────────┘

46. What is your current marital status? Are you married, living with someone, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

   Married 1   07/

   Living with someone 2

   Widowed 3

   Divorced ....   SKIP   ... 4
                        TO
   Separated ....   Q.50   ... 5

   Never been married.   ... 6

47. What is the highest regular school certificate, diploma, or degree that your husband/wife (or the person you're living with) has ever gotten?

   None ever 01   08-09/

   8th grade; Jr. high 02

   High school diploma; GED 03

   A.A.; Junior college 04

   B.A. or B.S. 05

   Masters 06

   Ph.D. 07

   Degree in law or medicine 08

   Other (SPECIFY) _____

   _____ 09

48. Last week was he/she working full time, part time, keeping house, or what? CIRCLE ONE CODE ONLY. IF MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE, GIVE PREFERENCE TO SMALLEST CODE NUMBER THAT APPLIES AND RECORD OTHER RESPONSES VERBATIM.

   Working full time . (35 hours or more) .. 01   10-11/

   Working part time . (1-34 hours) 02

   With a job, but not at work because of illness, vacation, strike .. (ASK A) .. 03

   Unemployed, laid off, looking for work .... (ASK A) .. 04

   Retired 05

   In school only .... (SKIP TO Q. 50) 06

   Keeping house only . (SKIP TO Q. 50) 07

   Other (SPECIFY)

   _____ 08

   A. __IF NOT WORKING AT PRESENT__:

   When he/she does work, is that usually full time or part time?

   Full time 1   12/

   Part time 2

   Varies 3

49. A. What kind of work does he/she (did he/she normally) do? That is, what is (was) his/her job called? IF MORE THAN ONE JOB, ASK ABOUT MAIN JOB HERE.

OCCUPATION: _____ 13-17/

IF NECESSARY, ASK: What are (were) some of his/her main duties? What does (did) he/she actually do in that job?

B. Where is his/her (main) place of work? Is it in (NEIGHBORHOOD), downtown Chicago, elsewhere in Chicago, in the suburbs, or where?

(NEIGHBORHOOD) 1   18/

Downtown Chicago 2

Elsewhere in Chicago 3

Suburbs 4

Other (SPECIFY) _____

_____ 5

ASK EVERYONE:

50. Do you have any children under 19 living at home with you? This includes adopted children, foster children, and children from a previous marriage.

Yes ..... (ASK A) 1   19/

No .... (SKIP TO Q. 56) ... 2

A. IF YES: I'm interested in the ages of your children and where they go to school. First, how old is the oldest child living at home with you? (RECORD AGE. IF 5 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER, ASK B. CONTINUE FOR REMAINING CHILDREN.)

A. Age of child (IF 5 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER, ASK B)	IF 5 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER, ASK: B. What is the name of the school this child attends?	
1. _____ 20-21/	1. _____	22-24/
2. _____ 25-26/	2. _____	27-29/
3. _____ 30-31/	3. _____	32-34/
4. _____ 35-36/	4. _____	37-39/
5. _____ 40-41/	5. _____	42-44/
6. _____ 45-46/	6. _____	47-49/
7. _____ 50-51/	7. _____	52-54/
8. _____ 55-56/	8. _____	57-59/

IF MORE THAN EIGHT CHILDREN, ENTER # OF ADDITIONAL CHILDREN [ ]   60/

IF NO CHILDREN 5 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER, SKIP TO Q. 56

C. I'm going to read a list of statements that apply to some families with school age children. Please tell me if each statement is mostly true or mostly false in your family.

		Mostly true	Mostly false	Not applicable	
1)	My children are not allowed to watch television until their homework is done on school nights.	1	2	3	61/
2)	There are certain areas in the neighborhood where my children are not allowed to walk.	1	2	3	62/
3)	I worry about my children's safety at school.	1	2	3	63/
4)	My children are allowed to go to the park without adult supervision.	1	2	3	64/
5)	My children stay up as late as they want to on weekends.	1	2	3	65/
6)	I know the parents of most of my children's friends.	1	2	3	66/
7)	I worry about my children getting involved in gangs.	1	2	3	67/
8)	It frightens me when my children are late getting home and don't call me.	1	2	3	68/

51. Have you heard about the Access to Excellence program in the city of Chicago?

                         Yes 1   69/
                         No .. (SKIP TO Q. 56) .. 2

---

52. Is your child (are any of your children) in an Access to Excellence program?

                         Yes ..... (ASK A) 1   70/
                         No ... (SKIP TO Q. 56) .. 2

A. IF YES: What program is that? CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODES.

                Preschool program 01   71-72/
                Basic skills program 02   73-74/

                                                         BEGIN DECK 06

                Classical schools 03   07-08/
                Elementary School Language Center 04   09-10/
                Centers for Languages 05   11-12/
                High School Bilingual Center 06   13-14/
                High School Performing and Creative
                   Arts Centers 07   15-16/
                Career Development Centers 08   17-18/
                Technical Centers--High Schools 09   19-20/
                City-wide Permissive Enrollment 10   21-22/
                District selected programs 11   23-24/
                Advanced placement 12   25-26/
                Von Humboldt Child Parent Center 13   27-28/
                Other (SPECIFY)

                _____ 14   29-30/

                Don't know 98   31-32/

---

53. How satisfied are you with the Access to Excellence program? Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

                Very satisfied 1   33/
                Somewhat satisfied 2
                Somewhat dissatisfied 3
                Very dissatisfied 4
                Don't know 8

54. Here are some ways the Access to Excellence program might affect your child/children. First, in helping your child to learn more quickly--is the program having a great effect, a moderate effect, hardly any effect, or no effect at all?

		Great	Moderate	Hardly any	None	Don't know	
A.	Helping your child to learn more quickly	1	2	3	4	8	34/
B.	Helping your child to understand students of other cultural backgrounds	1	2	3	4	8	35/
C.	Helping your child to learn to work with other races	1	2	3	4	8	36/
D.	Allowing you to play a more active role in school	1	2	3	4	8	37/
E.	Preparing your child for a future occupation	1	2	3	4	8	38/
F.	Improving your child's speaking ability	1	2	3	4	8	39/

---

55. Last year, did (your child/all your children) attend the same school(s) they do now?

                         Yes ... (GO TO Q. 56) ... 1   40/
                         No ..... (ASK A) 2

A. IF DIFFERENT SCHOOLS, ASK FOR EACH:

        I'd like to know what schools they attended. First, (the child/the oldest child) who goes to (NAME OF SCHOOL IN Q. 50) went to what school last year? (GO DOWN THE LIST)

    Child/oldest child in Q. 50   1. _____   41-43/
                                       (RECORD SCHOOL ATTENDED LAST YEAR)

    Second oldest in Q. 50   2. _____   44-46/
                                       (RECORD SCHOOL ATTENDED LAST YEAR)

    Third oldest in Q. 50   3. _____   47-49/
                                       (RECORD SCHOOL ATTENDED LAST YEAR)

    Fourth oldest in Q. 50   4. _____   50-52/
                                       (RECORD SCHOOL ATTENDED LAST YEAR)

ASK EVERYONE:
56. Please tell me which category represents your family's total income before taxes and other deductions during 1978. (INCLUDE ALL SOURCES) Was it less than $10,000, between $10,000 and $30,000, or was it $30,000 or more?
    IF EXACTLY $10,000, CIRCLE 20 AND 21; IF EXACTLY $30,000, CIRCLE 30 and 31.

    A. Less than $10,000 10   53-54/

            Was it between $5,000 and $10,000?

                    Yes 11

                    No 12

                    Refused 17

    B. Between $10,000 and $30,000 20

            Was it between $10,000 and $20,000?

                    Yes 21

                    No 22

                    Refused 27

    C. $30,000 or more 30

            Was it between $30,000 and $40,000?

                    Yes 31

                    No 32

                    Refused 37

    D. Refused 97

57. I am now going to read a number of statements dealing with beliefs and feelings. Would you tell me whether you agree _strongly_, agree _somewhat_, _disagree somewhat_, or disagree _strongly_ with each of these statements?

		Strongly agree	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
A.	Everytime I try to get ahead something or somebody stops me.	1	2	3	4	8	55/
B.	Everything changes so quickly these days that I often have trouble deciding which are the right rules.	1	2	3	4	8	56/
C.	Planning only makes a person unhappy, since plans hardly ever work out anyway.	1	2	3	4	8	57/
D.	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4	8	58/
E.	People were better off in the old days when everyone knew just how he was expected to act.	1	2	3	4	8	59/

58. In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of school children from one district to another to achieve racial balance?

                    Favor 1   60/

                    Oppose .. (SKIP TO Q. 60) . 2

                    Don't know 8

59. Would you yourself favor or oppose the busing of _your_ children to achieve racial balance?

                    Favor 1   61/

                    Oppose 2

                    Don't know 8

60. I am going to read some statements that people have made about what happens when a few black families move into an all white neighborhood. For each statement, please tell me if you think it's mostly true or mostly false.

		Mostly true	Mostly false	Don't know	
A.	When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, they usually have the same income and education as the people who live there.	1	2	8	62/
B.	When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, realtors urge the people who live there to move.	1	2	8	63/
C.	When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, the black families are often harrassed and attacked.	1	2	8	64/
D.	When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, crime rates usually go up.	1	2	8	65/
E.	When a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, property values are sure to go down.	1	2	8	66/

61. Thinking about the races of the people who live in (NEIGHBORHOOD)--that is, whether they're black, white, or hispanic--would you say the racial composition is pretty stable, or would you say the racial composition is changing?

> Stable 1   67/
>
> Changing 2
>
> Don't know 8

Thank you very much for your help. I just have one more question we have to ask for statistical purposes.

62. Please tell me, are there any other telephones in your household that have a different phone number than this one?

> Yes ..... (ASK A AND B) ... 1   68/
>
> No 2

IF YES:

A. How many different numbers are there?

> One 1   69/
>
> More than one 2

B. What is that/are those number(s)?

> _____
>
> _____
>
> _____

---

63. DATE OF INTERVIEW

> Month: February 2   70/
>
> March 3
>
> April 4
>
> Day: [|]   71-72/

---

64. INTERVIEWER ID NUMBER   [|]   73-74/

APPENDIX B

SHOPPING STRIP QUALITY RATING INSTRUMENT

COMPUTER CODE	FIELD CODE	BUSINESS TYPE
		FINANCIAL:
11	F1	BANKS AND SAVINGS AND LOANS
12	F2	CURRENCY EXCHANGES
13	F3	FINANCE COMPANIES (HFC, other companies)
		CHAIN STORES:
21	C1	CHAIN FOOD STORES (A&P, Jewel, etc.) i.e. supermarkets
22	C2	OTHER CHAIN STORES (Ace Hardware, Wickes Furniture, Carpetland, Zayre, Community, Woolworth's, Walgreen's, Osco, Hallmark, Casual Corner, etc.) LIST IF IN DOUBT.
23	C3	DEPARTMENT STORES: (Marshall Field, Wieboldt's, Goldblatt's, Sears, Penny's) LIST ALL OTHERS.
		AUTOMOTIVE:
31	A1	GAS/REPAIR/MOTORCYCLES
32	A2	CAR SALES
		RECREATION:
41	R1	LIQUOR STORES/BARS/COCKTAIL LOUNGES
42	R2	RESTAURANTS (sit-down)
43	R3	CHAIN RESTAURANTS (McDonald's, Arthur Treacher's, Pizza Hut)
44	R4	TAKE-OUTS (with little or no room to eat in store)
45	R5	OTHER RECREATION (theaters, bowling alleys, etc.) Also VFW, Eagles, posts.
		OTHER STORES:
51	S1	NON-CHAIN FOOD STORES (bakeries, Mom & Pop, fish markets, produce, etc.)
52	S2	SERVICES (shoe repair, cleaners, appliance repair, tailors, barbers, beauticians, photography studios, sign painters, printers, travel agency, newspaper distribution centers, caterers, aluminum siding, business machine sales and service)
53	S3	RETAIL I: (clothing, shoes, jewelry, sporting goods, office supplies, florists, non-porno books, pets, camera shops, coin shops, drug stores, art galleries)
54	S4	RETAIL II: (non-chain card shops, records, "Head stores", wigs, souvenirs, non-chain trinkets) LIST IF IN DOUBT.

COMPUTER CODE	FIELD CODE	BUSINESS TYPE
61	U1	USED CLOTHING, SECOND-HAND STORES, PAWNSHOPS
62	U2	UNDESIRABLES (porno shops, reader-advisor, massage parlors, coin amusements)
		OTHER LAND USE:
71	01	PUBLIC (Post Office, Board of Education public schools, ward offices, welfare agencies, public clinics)
72	02	PROFESSIONAL/OFFICE: (medical/dental/optical, clinics if private, legal offices, accountants, insurance, real estate, vocational/dance/driving schools, contractors, union headquarters, funeral homes)
73	03	CHURCH: (include parochial schools)
74	04	STORE FRONT CHURCHES
75	05	FACTORY/WAREHOUSE/WHOLESALE DISTRIBUTORS
76	06	PRIVATE DWELLING
77	07	STOREFRONT-DWELLING (storefront converted to private dwelling on 1st floor)
78	08	VACANT BUILDING
79	09	OTHER (list)
		LAND:
81	L1	ALLEYS
82	L2	VACANT LOT (unpaved)
83	L3	PARKING LOT/GARAGE (paved or gravelled)
84	L4	PARK/PLAYLOT
85	L5	SIDE YARDS TO DWELLINGS
99	99	UNKNOWN

CODING POINTS

BURGLAR BARS: (do not include silver alarm tape)
BROKEN/BOARDED WINDOWS OR DOORS, BROKEN OR CARDBOARD SIGNS, (identifying the store)
LITTER: More than 6 pieces of litter on street and sidewalk in front of store, or at least 2 pieces, one of which is larger than a newspaper.
LIQUOR BOTTLES OR CANS: (may be broken or crushed) COUNT IF IN GUTTER, TOO!
SPECIAL IMAGE FEATURES: Special decorative lights, sidewalks; landscaping/trees the whole block or major part of it; central square in middle of street, uniform exterior decoration/lack of extending signs; block is part of a shopping mall.
SIDEWALK/STORE INTEGRATION: Outside stands, racks; open doors

Count private dwelling only if living space on ground floor OR if entry takes up space to an entire storefront.
Do not count parking lots behind stores or those in front of supermarkets. Count only if the parking lot is between stores.
Include the 2 blocks contiguous (ending) to each end of the shopping strip -- even if less than 75% business.
Count the one store on side streets.
Don't count back and side yards of houses on side streets as to litter and graffiti, but do count the distance in determining if the block is more than 75% business.
Don't count the side of corner businesses for litter and graffiti unless the business district extends up that side street for at least one more store.

CODE SHEET
SHOPPING STRIP QUALITY RATING INSTRUMENT

Street Name: _____ Block: _____

Time and Date: _____

DETERIORATION

STORE CODE	BURGLAR BARS	BROK. WINDW. DOORS	GRAF.	LITTER	CANS/BOTTLES	STOREFRONT SIZE 2-3	4+	STORE REHAB	FOR. LANG.	
1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										
7.										
8.										
9.										
10.										
11.										
12.										
13.										
14.										
15.										
16.										
17.										
18.										
19.										
20.										

COMMENTS - BLOCK CHARACTERISTICS

Number of times questioned: _____

Special Image features (list): _____

Sidewalk/Store integration (list): _____

Comments on people: _____

Other Comments:

APPENDIX C

HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD APPEARANCE RATING INSTRUMENT: KEY

A. TYPE OF STRUCTURE

    1. LAND USE
        1 = Single-family home, either attached or detached (D)
        2 = 2-6 flat (F)
        3 = Multiple-unit dwelling of more than 6 units (MUD)
        4 = Vacant lot
        5 = Park/playlot/garden
        6 = Store/store with apartments above
        7 = School
        8 = Church
        9 = Office, public/professional/private; institutions (e.g., hospital)
        10 = Industrial/warehouse/factory
        11 = Parking lot (paved)
        12 = Building facing other street (do not rate further)
        13 = Side yard, back yard, other yard (rate condition of grounds items)
        14 = Alley, private street (rate for litter only; code under "Parkway")
        15 = Gas station/other automotive
        20 = Other (list on back)
        97 = Not ascertained/not visible

  NOTE: For all remaining items, code 7 if feature is not present
       or not visible.

    2. FRONT WALL MATERIAL
        1 = Brick or stone
        2 = Siding, shingles, or stucco
        3 = Mixture of 1 and 2
        4 = Concrete
        5 = Other (list on back)

    3. REHABILITATION
        1 = Building permit is visible or there is other evidence
          of work being done on property, including the presence
          of workmen, ladders, or stacks of building materials.
          Do not code routine yard work.

    4. ABANDONMENT
        1 = Building is boarded up, burned out, partially demolished,
          has an FBI sign, or has all windows broken out.

B. CONDITION OF STRUCTURE

    1. ROOF
        1 = Missing material 1 foot in any direction

    2. FACADE
        1 = Absent or peeling paint or flaking stucco over 25% of an area
          One patch missing material 6" by 6" or 1 foot in any direction
          Three patches missing material 3" by 3" or 6" in any direction
          Misalignment of balconies

    3. WINDOW TRIM
        1 = Absent or peeling paint on 25% of windows
          Chunk of window sill or window ornamentation missing - 6" by 6"
          Shutter or awning missing or broken - collapsed, hanging, misaligned

    4. WINDOW GLASS
        1 = For D, one pane broken or boarded up
          For F/MUD, 25% of panes broken or boarded up

    5. INSIDE WINDOWS
        1 = For D, one window makeshift covered or 50% of windows bare
          For F, one flat's windows makeshift covered or 50% of windows bare
          For MUD, 50% of windows makeshift covered or bare

    6. ENTRYWAY
        1 = Absent or peeling paint over 25% of an area
          Broken or missing steps
          Chunk of missing material 6" by 6"
          Misalignment of porch
          Broken railings or awnings
          Broken door

    7. PATHWAYS
        1 = Chunk of concrete missing 1 foot in any direction
          Grass or weeds growing 10" or higher between segments

    8. JERRY-BUILT REPAIRS
        1 = Sloppy or non-matched repair, 1 foot in any direction

C. CONDITION OF GROUNDS

1. **NEGLECT**
   1 = Grass or weeds 10" high over 25% of area
      Bare spot over 25% of area

2. **LANDSCAPING AND DECORATION**
   1 = Cleared beds with flowers, plants, pieces of bark, or colored pebbles
      Flowerboxes or planters with intentional plants
      Pruned bushes showing design in placement (see specs)
      Lawn ornaments such as statues or birdbaths

3. **LITTER ON LAWN**
   1 = 3-6 pieces of size 2" by 2"
   2 = 7 or more pieces 2" by 2"

4. **CANS ON LAWN**
   1 = 1 beer can or liquor bottle

5. **LARGE LITTER ON LAWN**
   1 = 1 abandoned large object

6. **LITTER ON PARKWAY**
   1 = 3-6 pieces of size 2" by 2"
   2 = 7 or more pieces 2" by 2"

7. **CANS ON PARKWAY AND IN GUTTER**
   1 = 1 beer can or liquor bottle

8. **LARGE LITTER ON PARKWAY AND IN GUTTER**
   1 = 1 abandoned large object

D. BLOCK-LEVEL CHARACTERISTICS

Record anything unusual or noteworthy at the bottom of the coding sheet, particularly in regard to the following items:

1. Physical characteristics - distinctive topography, housing stock, or ornamentation

2. Social characteristics - presence of block-club signs, unusual kinds or levels of activity

3. Impressions - record any unusual questions, reactions, or happenings; note if rater's subjective impressions of block appearance do not seem to correspond to its rating

---

HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD APPEARANCE RATING INSTRUMENT

CODING SPECIFICATIONS

A. TYPE OF STRUCTURE

1. **Land use**

   Single-family homes which are attached, such as row-houses and townhouses, should be scored separately for each dwelling unit. If it is ambiguous whether townhouses are owned or rented, and especially if they are arranged around a private courtyard, code as either F (single-family) or MUD (multiple-unit dwelling), according to number of units.

   Two-six flat — includes two-story houses designed for occupancy by two families, as are common in Back of the Yards.

   Multiple-unit dwelling — includes the type of building, whether arranged around a courtyard or parallel to the street, which has different entrances but a continuous physical structure. Rate this type of building as one unit unless there is a strong probability that the structure is joining several different buildings - in that case, rate each separately.

   Vacant lot — includes only lots serving no established purpose. Unpaved lots used for parking are included here. Vacant lots should be rated on large litter and parkway items ONLY.

   Land uses 5-20 should be rated on whichever instrument items apply — be sure to code 7 for any items which do not apply.

   Code 12 when a building facing another street abuts the street.

   Side yard — includes yards of buildings facing another street and yards which do not clearly belong to any particular structure. Side yards which do belong to a particular structure should be considered along with the rest of its grounds.

2. **Front wall material**

   In determining the composition of the front exterior wall, exclude entryways, foundations, eaves, window trims. If the structure is clearly 75% category 1 or 75% category 2, code as such. Mixture of 1 and 2 (category 3) means less than 75% of each material.

3. Rehabilitation

This item is intended to pick up ongoing maintenance and rehabilitation activity. If it is ambiguous whether work is ongoing or not, score the building for rehabilitation and make a note on the back of the exact address to permit checking later. Do not score for rehab if someone is removing dirt (washing windows, sweeping steps, etc.), although sandblasting would count. Do not score large litter if it is clearly rehab-related.

4. Abandonment

Do not code MUDs with some occupants remaining or buildings that are being reclaimed and undergoing rehabilitation. Do not rate abandoned buildings on any succeeding items - except parkway items.

B. CONDITION OF STRUCTURE

There are eight components to this item. Because our interest is in appearance, the general coding criterion is to code what you can see. This does not mean craning, peering under bushes, etc., to capture each and every little defect; rather, the method of looking should generally be that of the "sweeping glance". The size, proportion, and number guidelines that have been provided should generally be considered the lower limits of what to code — we don't want a single bullet hole, for example, even if some of you eagle-eyes can spot it. Similarly, if you have to spend more than a few seconds deciding whether an item is big enough to count, it isn't; and if you find only one borderline flaw with one part of a building feature, don't count it. Exceptions to and clarifications of these general instructions will be provided in the specs for the individual items.

1. Roof

Rate the main roof of the building if any part of it is visible. Do not consider the porch roof here unless it is an extension of the main roof.

2. Facade

Facade is the front exterior wall(s) of the building parallel to the public sidewalk. The facade includes the soffits of the roof and that portion of the exterior wall which forms the back of the porch. The facade also includes balconies which are not part of the entryway. The facade does not include roofs, windows, entryways, or foundations.

Absent or peeling paint means paint which is damaged such that the material underneath is visible over 25% of the affected portion of the facade.

Missing material includes both the outer wall covering material and the ornamentation frequently found on brick or stone Fs and MUDs. Do not, however, include ornamentation around windows and doors — these will be picked up later. The material may be completely missing or deeply eroded.

Misalignment means obvious crookedness, sloping, or sagging - one end is 1 foot higher than the other or sagging in the middle so as to form a U-shape.

3. Window trim

A window is affected by peeling paint if the material underneath is visible along one whole side of the window. Do not consider basement windows.

4. Window glass

Do not consider basement windows. Broken means that a piece of glass larger than a bullet hole is missing. Do not count windows that are cracked, taped, or covered with plastic unless missing glass is visible.

5. Inside windows

Do not consider basement, attic, and sunporch windows. Makeshift covered means covered inside with newspaper, a torn sheet, etc. Bare means no curtain, shade, blind, plants, etc., are visible. This item is intended to pick up vacancy or lack of concern about appearance. If a structure, particularly a house, technically qualifies to be scored on this item while it clearly does not indicate vacancy or lack of concern, do not count.

6. Entryway

Entryway means all building parts which one must cross over and/or pass through to get from the path to the inside of the building and which, taken together, form a whole. Thus, an entryway may include a porch, stoop, or landing; have stairs; or consist simply of a door. Include porch ceiling and roof unless it is an extension of the main roof -- then rate under "Roof". Rate any portion of the entryway visible from the sidewalk, even if it is on the side of the building.

Missing material can be any type of material — roof shingles, concrete from the landing, wood from a wall, etc. Exception -- do not code missing material for steps unless a whole step is broken or missing. Do not code missing material for removable items such as porch furniture -- code only for permanent building parts.

Misalignment is as defined above for facade. Count severely rippled or wavy porch roofs as misaligned.

Broken door includes broken door frame and broken glass in or next to the door.

7. Pathways

Pathways are those portions of the concrete walkway(s) leading from the public sidewalk up to the building. Rate walkways leading to the back and driveways only if the building has no walkway up to its main entrance.
Missing concrete may be completely absent or deeply eroded.

8. Jerry-built repairs

Sloppy repairs includes smeared cement as a consequence of bad tuckpointing, etc. Non-matched repairs includes red bricks on a yellow building, etc. Count only mismatching where approximate matching would have been feasible — not, for example, slight differences in color of bricks. Do not count repairs using appropriate materials which are neat but unpainted.

C. CONDITION OF GROUNDS

For items 1-5, rate the area from the inner edge of the public sidewalk to the structure. Item 6 is to be rated for the area from the inner edge of the sidewalk to the curb; for items 7 and 8, include the gutter also. If the property is bounded by a hedge or a fence, count litter outside it with the parkway and consider only the area inside the hedge or fence as the lawn. For MUDs with just a small concrete apron between the structure and the public sidewalk, record a 7 for neglect and count litter on the apron with the parkway.

1. Neglect

Do not count cleared areas of beds as bare spots.

2. Landscaping and decoration

Do not consider the parkway on this item. Do not count beds overgrown with weeds or flowers growing randomly. Do not count bushes along the foundation of the structure unless they are set off by bricks, stones, etc. Do not count privet hedges if they are the only items present; but other species of hedge and individual bushes in beds count. Do not count vegetable gardens. Because buildings without lawns still have the opportunity to score on this item, it should never be coded as 7 under normal circumstances.

3. Litter on lawn

Be sure to include large refuse like newspapers, paper bags, etc., and cans in the count of pieces of litter.

4. Large litter

Large litter includes non-combustible items like mattresses, refrigerators, tires, furniture, and abandoned cars, which can be recognized by missing license plates, two or more flat or missing tires, two or more tickets. Do not count large litter which is rehab-related.

D. BLOCK-LEVEL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Physical characteristics

Distinctive topography includes such facts as that the block is a cul-de-sac, abuts railroad tracks, is located atop a hill, etc.
Distinctive housing stock means that the buildings differ from those of adjacent areas in their age, material, or architectural style, e.g., a block of Victorian mansions amidst two-flats.
Distinctive ornamentation includes items like brick sidewalks, identical light fixtures, bright paint, trendy large house numbers, etc., which are common to or prevalent on the whole block.

2. Social characteristics

Record the text of block-club signs (name of block club and rules of the block).

Unusual kinds or levels of activity includes numbers of people loitering, sitting on stoops, working on lawns, leaning out windows, children playing in the street, etc.

3. Impressions

Raters should note if they feel eyes staring at them from behind windows, even if no one appears to question them.

_____(street)_____ _____(block)_____ _____(side)_____

1-16/ _____

_____(day)_____ _____(month/date)_____ _____(time)_____ _____(# questions)_____

17-25/ _____

	TYPE OF STRUCTURE				CONDITION OF STRUCTURE								CONDITION OF GROUNDS							
	Land Use	Wall	Rehab	Aban	Roof	Fac	Window Trim	Window Glass	Ins Window	Entry	Paths	Jerry Built	Neglect	Land- scape	Lawn: Litter	Cans	Large	Parkway: Litter	Cans	Large
26-7	28-9	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
01																				
02																				
03																				
04																				
05																				
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	TYPE OF STRUCTURE				CONDITION OF STRUCTURE								CONDITION OF GROUNDS							
	Land Use	Wall	Rehab	Aban	Roof	Fac	Window Trim	Window Glass	Ins Window	Entry	Paths	Jerry Built	Neglect	Land-scape	Lawn: Litter	Cans	Large	Parkway: Litter	Cans	Large
26-7	28-9	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
21																				
22																				
23																				
24																				
25																				
26																				
27																				
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37																				
38																				
39																				
40																				

END